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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF *LEWIS* XIII.

KING of *France* and *Navarre*.

CONTAINING

The most Remarkable Occurrences in *France* and *Europe*, during the Minority of that PRINCE.

By Mr. *Michel le Vassor*.



Translated from the French.

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TO THE VICECOUNT OF WOODSTOCK.

My Lord,

WHEN I first set about the Work, I now present you with, I had the honour to be imployed, by the Earl of Portland *your illustrious Father, to entertain you with History. I was then glad, that the Providence of God, alloting me that imployment, engaged me to write such things, as you must of necessity be acquainted with, in order to reap a suitable benefit, from the instructions, which your Father, who loves you tenderly, will one day give you concerning the extraordinary Revolutions, that* Europe *beholds with amazement, within these thirty years.*

He is acquainted with the most hidden springs and motives that gave them a being; he has always been entrusted with the Secrets of a Great Prince, who had the greatest hand in bringing them about; and has served him in his Noble and hazardous Interprises, with a Zeal equal to his Courage. He is, my Lord, a Father so perfectly well versed in civil and military Affairs,

that from him ye'll learn, the intrigues of the negotiation carried on in his time, the preſent intereſts of Sove raigns, the particular circumſtances of Battles, Sieges and the motions of the Army, in which he filled the moſt conſiderable Poſts.

In recounting to you his own actions, he'll teach yo how a perſon of your Quality, may equally ſerve both th Country and the Prince, who honours him with his Secrets what meaſures ye muſt take for doing good ſervice to th one, without prejudice to the inviolable fidelity ye owe t the other; what a Peer of England *is obliged to do, in or der to be uſeful to the King in the Parliament, and a the ſame time to merit the eſteem and approbation of people, jealous of their Rights and Priviledges.*

'Tis poſſible, others beſides the Earl of Portland, *may give you good advice upon all theſe things. But there i one thing, which your incomparable Father, is only ca pable to teach you. 'Tis, my Lord, moderation unde great Circumſtances. He has lately furniſhed you with an uncommon example of that Vertue. His Magnani ty on that occaſion is ſo extraordinary, that ye'll ſcarc match it, in the ancient or modern Hiſtories, ye are a bout to peruſe. Let this example of your Family be al ways in your view. It ought to rivet this important truth in your mind, that by controuling your Ambition, tho of it ſelf juſt and reaſonable, you'll purchaſe more ſolid Glory, than by climbing up to the higheſt dignities.*

I have told you, my Lord, that the Hiſtory of the Reign of Lewis XIII. *will be of great uſe to you, for knowing the Revolutions that happened in* Europe, *ſome time ago. You will there ſee how the affairs of the Empire appear with a new face after the Peace of* Munſter. *You will ſee the cauſe and beginning of the fall of the Spaniſh Monarchy, that was formerly redoubted by all its Neighbours. There ye may trace the firſt advances of* France, *which gets the aſcendant by the art of a Car-*

dinal

dinal, whoſe Sly and Violent Politicks, render his Maſter Puiſſant at home, by humbling the Princes and Great Lords, and formidable abroad, by ſeaſonable Alliances with the Crown of Sweden *and the* United Provinces. *The good correſpondence which that able Miniſter kept with the Great* Frederick Henry *Prince of* Orange, *was ſerviceable to him in bringing his vaſt projects to bear.*

The Swedes *were then not otherwiſe known than by the Wars with* Denmark, Poland, *Muſcovy, and ſome extraordinary Revolutions occaſioned by Religion, and the different intereſt of their King and his Subjects. In the ſubſequent parts of this Work, a new Warriour will ſtart out from the North, with a ſmall number of Troops, to reſcue* Germany, *when almoſt entirely ſubdued by the Ambition and Arms of* Ferdinand II. Guſtavus Adolphus *will make the Emperor tremble for fear of loſing his own Hereditary Countries. The rapid courſe of his Victories and Conqueſts, extended to the* Rhine, *will give grounds of Jealouſie to the Princes that called him in to aſſiſt them, and to the Soveraigns that courted his Alliance.*

But that, my Lord, which ought to affect you more, is the reading of the brave efforts of your dear and celebrated Country, in maintaining their Liberty, after the expiration of twelve years Truce. The Spaniards *flattered themſelves with hopes of benefiting by the diviſions that aroſe in* Holland *and ſome other Provinces, after the concluſion of that Truce. But the Valour and Wiſe Conduct of* Maurice *and* Frederick Henry, *Princes of* Orange, *fruſtrate the hopes that ſeemed to be well grounded. You'll be infinitely well pleaſed to be entertained with Sieges formed and carried on by theſe two great Maſters of the Art of taking Towns, with Victories gained by two famous Generals, whoſe Armies were reſorted to from*

from all parts, as a School of the Art of War; In fine, with the Courage equal to that of the ancient Romans, *that the* United Provinces *diſplayed, till they obliged the King of* Spain *to renounce all his pretenſions upon them, and to own them a free Republick in a ſolemn Treaty.*

I believe, my Lord, you have not forgot what my Lord your Father told you in one of the agreeable and profitable interviews you had with him laſt Summer, in the walks of his lovely ſolitude near the Hague. *He related to you one day this Prediction of Prince* Frederick Henry *a ſhort while before his death*; That, as he was conſtrained to oppoſe the Ambitious Deſigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſo his Poſterity would one day be under a neceſſity of declaring againſt *France. Now things are come about, juſt as that judicious and penetrating Politician foretold. The Houſe of* Orange *had the honour of giving the firſt blow that ſhaked the power of* Spain: *And, by a ſurpriſing Revolution, the precious and only Sprig that now remains of that fertile Branch of Hero's, may now glory in having ſupported, by his Prudence and Valour, that Monarchy when threaten'd by imminent ruin. Could the Haughty and Bloody* Philip II. *ever have thought, that the Poſterity of him, whom, after a ridiculous and unhandſome proſcription, be baſely cauſed to be Aſſaſſinated, ſhould one day be the only ſupport of his tottering Crown? The Hiſtory of the Reign of* Lewis XIII. *will diſcover, to you, my Lord, the reaſons that moved Prince* Frederick Henry *to foretell the Glory reſerv'd for a great King, the inheriter of his Blood and Vertues, who treats you already with diſtinguiſhing marks of his favour.*

It is not enough that by reading Hiſtory you become acquainted with the Intereſts of Soveraigns, the particular Circumſtances of Battles and Sieges, the Intrigues of Treaties and Negotiations, and the good or bad Qualites of the different Actors. That knowledge ought chiefly to be employed in confirming you in the good ſentiments of Religion, Vertue and Goodneſs, which your Father has taken care to ſuggeſt unto you. When I firſt had the houour to be with you, they perfectly charmed me, and I heartily thank God that they ſeem to be ſo pure, and ſo engraven upon your Soul, that we have all reaſon to hope, that the Contagious and Inſinuating Air of the Court will not be capable to corrupt or deface them; and that you will never depart from the paths, which the Piety, Prudence, and Valour of the Earl of Portland, *have chalked out to you. Heavens grant that you, to whom they have allotted the greateſt advantages that a Father can leave to a Son; may make uſe of 'em, in a manner ſuitable to the purity of the Religion we profeſs. Theſe are the moſt earneſt wiſhes of him, who ſhall always be, with all profound Reſpect, and inviolable Fidelity,*

My Lord,

Your moſt humble and

Moſt obedient Servant,

Michael le Vaſſor.

THE
PREFACE.

IT was the Saying of a Learned and Judicious Author, *That, ſince all the Writers of Hiſtory, that have gone before us, have taken care to make out the Uſefulneſs of the Knowledge of things paſt; 'tis needleſs after that to entertain the Reader's Curioſity with the like Preface.* 'Tis apparent that the Reading of Hiſtory, with Diſcretion and Reflection, is the moſt proper Method for forming the Mind and Affections. Thoſe who are appointed for the higheſt Offices of State, will thereby learn how to govern their Subjects; and Perſons of a private Capacity will therein meet with frequent Inſtructions for the Conduct of their Life. To read ancient and modern Hiſtorians, and only cram our Noddles with a confus'd Medley of different Facts, is the moſt uſeleſs Study in the World, and withal moſt pernicious to the Underſtanding. But to peruſe 'em, in order to learn to know Men, to reflect upon the Diſorder and Injuſtice of our Paſſions, and to diſtinguiſh real and ſolid Vertue, from that which is only grounded upon the falſe Opinions of Men; that, I ſay, is the moſt proper Study to fit a Man for the World, and for Buſineſs. Polyb. lib. 1.

Notwithſtanding the great Uſefulneſs of the Reading of Hiſtory, there are but few that reap any Benefit by it. Thoſe who give themſelves to it, are oftentimes in the ſame Condition with Travellers, or ſuch as live in Courts, and among Perſons of Quality. A Man that knows how to make a good uſe of his Senſe and Reaſon, improves himſelf by travelling in foreign Countries, and frequenting the Company of Courtiers and Men of Buſineſs. But commonly Travellers ſeek

only Diverſion in the Cities they go to. A young Gentleman returns from *Italy*, *Germany*, or *France*, as ignorant as he went; and oftentimes, inſtead of amending the common Faults of his own Country, he adds to them thoſe of the Countries he has viſited. Moſt Courtiers and Perſons of Quality project only for waſting themſelves, and paſſing ſome Hours of their time agreeably. They are far from minding, in what Faſhion Self-love and Paſſions act their Parts; From reflecting upon the Reaſons of the different Conduct of the great Men, and making uſeful Remarks upon their good or ill Qualities. All their Buſineſs is to pleaſe them, and joyn in with 'em either for Intereſt or Pleaſure. Now the greateſt Part of thoſe who read Hiſtory, are much of the ſame Form. Their Buſineſs is to divert themſelves and murder their time. They never trouble themſelves about benefiting by the Examples of Vertue they meet with in Hiſtory; or reflecting upon the Errors of thoſe who are ſpoken of. The Occaſion of this is, that there is not care enough taken to make young Perſons know Men, or to inſpire 'em with good moral Principles, before we ſet 'em about the Reading of Hiſtory, or ſend 'em into foreign Countries, or introduce 'em to Courts. Did the Governors or Preceptors, entruſted with their Education, inure 'em to meditate upon what the Incomparable Author of the *Reſearch of Truth* has remark'd of the Errors and Deluſions of our Senſes, of the Imagination and Paſſions; to conſider the Maxims of *Rochefoucault*, and ſeveral other good Pieces of Morality publiſh'd in our time; were this Method follow'd, I doubt not but Minds thus prepar'd would be wonderfully improv'd by travelling, ſeeing the World, and reading Ancient and Modern Hiſtory.

'Tis poſſible, the ſmall Number of good Authors, either in this or former Ages, is another Cauſe of the ſmall Progreſs of thoſe, who run over every thing they meet with, without Choice or Reflection. *Herodot*, whom the Ancients ſtyle, *The Father of Hiſtory*, is a polite Writer, and agreeable to a Reader. There ye may learn the true *Ionick*. Nay, if ye will, he may paſs for a Standard for an elegant and clean Style. But after all, what ſolid thing can be learn'd from an

Cicero lib. 1. *De Legibus.*

Author

Author ſtuff'd with Fables and Untruths, that propoſes only to pleaſe, and not to inſtruct? 'Tis ſaid, That *Xenophon*'s Hiſtoty of *Cyrus* is only a pleaſureable Romance; but I doubt the Foundation of that Work is yet more exactly true, than what *Heredot* tells us of the Birth, Conqueſts, and Death of *Cyrus*. At leaſt the one is more likely than the other. But let it be as it will; a Man of Senſe will always prefer *Xenophon* to *Herodot*. Tho' the former has not given an exact Hiſtory of the Life of *Cyrus*, yet he brightens the Idea of a good and juſt Government. Upon this Account we ought to value *Xenophon*'s Eight Books of his *Cyropaideia*, more than *Herodot*'s Nine Books of Hiſtory, notwithſtanding their being ſtyl'd *The Nine Muſes*. 'Tis true, the one may divert; but the other inſtructs. In the other we'll meet with a thouſand Maxims, a thouſand Reflections, capable to illuminate our Thoughts, and direct our Affections. *Thucydid* was well acquainted with *Herodot*'s Imperfections. Notwithſtanding the great Reputation of the firſt *Grecian* Hiſtorian, *I'd rather*, ſaid he, according to *Lucian*'s Report) *diſoblige Men by ſpeaking the Truth, than gratifie 'em by telling Lies. Tho' I be leſs agreeable to my Reader, I ſhall yet be more uſeful. I have no mind to do him ſo much harm, as to ſuit my ſelf to his ſickly Palate.* Traitè de la Maniere d'ecrire l'Hiſtoire.

This admirable Author, whom *Saluſt*, *Livy*, and all the great Maſters, have look'd upon as a Standard; was ſenſible that a perfect Hiſtorian ought not only to relate things with the greateſt Sincerity; but he muſt particularly make it his Buſineſs to inſtruct the Reader. This he did in his Harangues, with a Dexterity that charm'd *Cicero* himſelf; *He has*, ſays he, *almoſt as many Sentences as Words*. This way of inſtructing by Harangues, was very proper in a Hiſtory of the Republick of *Athens*, or that of *Rome*. There, Generals of Armies, and Magiſtrates of the firſt Rate, ſpoke of the greateſt Affairs of State, in the Senate, and in the Aſſemblies of the People. But now ſuch Diſcourſes will find no Place, unleſs it be in a Hiſtory of *England*, or that of the Republick of *Venice*. Inſtead of haranguing, our Modern Hiſtorians muſt, in Imitation of *Tacitus*, endeavor to inſtruct in the very Body of Cicero lib. 11. *De Orat.*

their Hiſtories. Indeed in his time there were ſtill ſome Harangues deliver'd in the Senate. But, beſides that after *Auguſtus* the moſt important Affairs were not debated in the Senate; the Tyranny of his Succeſſors did not allow the Senators to ſpeak freely. All their Speeches tended only to flatter the Prince. 'Tis upon theſe Accounts that *Tacitus* has taken a different way from *Saluſt* and *Livy*. Inſtead of inſtructing by Harangues, he compaſſes the ſame End by giving his Reflections upon the Events recorded; or elſe by furniſhing the Reader with a Character of the principal Actors concern'd.

I have oftentimes put the Queſtion to my ſelf, Why Hiſtorians have been ſo ſcarce in all Ages. *Polybius* ſpeaks of a great many that wrote upon the ſame Subject with him; but he did not find one that pleas'd him. Several Reaſons may be given for that. Some mean to flatter thoſe, from whom they expect Gratuities. Others deſign only to divert the Reader, to patch up Books for a large and quick Sale, and to purchaſe to themſelves the Reputation of an Author that writes eaſily and politely. Others again make Hiſtories *by Command*, if I may ſo ſpeak: Such ſhould that have been, that *Cicero* deſir'd of his own Conſulſhip, where the Author makes no Scruple to cry up his Hero a little beyond the Truth. Princes and great Men hire Men of Senſe to write the Lives of their Anceſtors. At this very day there are ſome in the World, that overſee the compiling of their own Hiſtory. What Sincerity, what Exactneſs, what Inſtruction, ought we to expect from ſuch Authors, as preſent us with monſtrous or favourable Characters of their Actors, according as they're byaſs'd by Intereſt, by Paſſions, and the Itch they have to pleaſe their Patron, or their Reader. There's yet another Reaſon behind, why good Hiſtories have ever been, and ever will be very ſcarce. 'Tis, becauſe that ſort of Performance requires too large a Number of Excellent Qualities in the Undertaker.

Cicero ad famil. lib. 5. Epiſt. 12.

Cicero maintains, That a good Hiſtorian ought to be an Excellent Orator. And, Good God! How many things does he reckon up, as requiſite to form a Compleat Orator? *Quintilian* ſays, a Hiſtorian's Style ought

Lib. 2. De Orat.

Lib. 10. Inſtit. cap. 1.

ought to be loftier than that of the Tribunal or Bar, and approach to a Poetical Strain. What Care, what nice Application, will be requiſite in Order to hit that *Medium* of Style; that is, at once, more ſublime than that of an Orator, and yet clear from a Poet's Flights? Tho' theſe two great Men are very able Judges, I doubt much if their Judgment be a certain Rule in this Caſe. To my mind, *Lucian* ſpeaks more juſtly of a Hiſtorical Style. His Opinion is, That *it ſhould be clear, intelligible and natural; but withal, not too mean: And that the Figures, which ſeaſon the Diſcourſe, ſhould be neither too high, nor too far fetch'd.* Indeed he allows that on certain Occaſions, the Style may be rais'd, providing we lop off all that approaches to Enthuſiaſm, and Poetical Fury. *Exceſs* upon this Score, *and Lyes*, continues he, *are the two greateſt Vices of a Hiſtorian. If a Writer would ſoar high, let him do it by the things he repreſents, rather than by his Words. 'Tis better to relate extraordinary Occurrences in a ſimple and common Way; than to weaken the Thought by skrewing the Fancy too high. I would have the Periods to be neither too ſhort, nor too ſtiff; and the Diſcourſe to be neither too careleſs, nor too nicely harmoniouſly ſet. Let the Thoughts be more ſolid, than witty; and approach nearer to the Reaſonings of a wiſe Politician, than to the Sportings of an Orator's Wit. In ſhort, the Sentences ſhould be neither too frequent, nor too diſengag'd. They ought to be ſet in into the Body of the Work.* *Lucian* makes his Demands more modeſtly than *Cicero* and *Quintilian*. But ſtill, how difficult is it to reach to that juſt Mediocrity, that he contents himſelf with! *Thucydid* and *Tacitus* have endeavour'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a maſculine Eloquence, comprehending a great many things in a few Words. But they have render'd themſelves obſcure, and oftentimes unintelligible. *Livy* on the other hand cumbers himſelf with his ſet meaſur'd Periods. While he ſeeks for Number and Harmony to his Diſcourſe, he removes from the Reader's Sight what ought to be firſt preſented to his View.

His Treatiſe of the Manner of Writing Hiſtory.

Polybius would have an Hiſtorian to be ſome great Statesman. *No Man*, ſays he, *is capable to write a Hiſtory, without Faults, till continu'd Uſe and great Experience in the Affairs of the World have entitl'd him to a* Lib. 12.

conſummate Prudence. Accordingly, this Author, who was at once an excellent Soldier, and an able Stateſman; wiſh'd that thoſe concern'd in Governing, and in important Negotiations, who are acquainted with the Reaſons and hidden Springs of Undertakings; *would make it their Buſineſs to give the Hiſtory of their own Times, ſo, as never to quit an Employment ſo uſeful and neceſſary to the publick.* *Polybius*'s Wiſh was well calculated for a Republick. There, Men of Integrity and Learning are commonly employ'd in the Management of Affairs; and by conſequence may artfully and withal ingenuouſly relate the Matters in which they've been concern'd; and give Poſterity to know the true Springs of Enterprizes, and the different Intereſts of the Undertakers. 'Tis upon this Score that the Excellency of the Hiſtories of *Thucydid* and *Polybius* is grounded. Their Integrity likewiſe ſhines thro' their Hiſtory. The former liv'd in the time of the *Peloponneſian* War, which he deſcribes. He had a conſiderable Place, and was much regarded in the Republick of *Athens*; and was perfectly well acquainted with their Politicks and Government. The other was an Eye-witneſs of the moſt things he relates; and had a hand in the Execution of ſome. In fine, he carry'd on and finiſh'd ſome Enterprizes, that he himſelf had projected and adviſ'd. As for what *Polybius* himſelf did not ſee, he relates it upon Reports receiv'd from Eye-witneſſes.

Polyb. lib. 3. & 5.

Now a days 'tis in vain to wiſh that Miniſters of State would write the Hiſtory of their Times. They are only buſy'd in advancing their Fortunes; and carrying on ſomething more uſeful for themſelves and for the Intereſt of their Family. They'll be very cautious of preſenting the World with an exact and faithful Account of the Cloſet Intrigues of the Court, and laying open the true Springs of Wars, Alliances, and other Enterpriſes. Will they themſelves give the publick to know their own wickedneſs and knavery? Will they ſpeak freely of the ſcandalous and criminal paſſions of the Prince, to whom they owe their Places and Grandeur? Will they teach the World the way, how they took care to flatter or to call up his paſſions, ſometimes to Diſgrace and Ruine a Rival that had more

Merit

Merit than they, and ſometimes to advance their own worthleſs Creatures, Sometimes Stateſmen and Embaſſadors write Memoirs. But they are not to be credited. I cannot be charg'd with judging raſhly, if I make the ſame eſtimate of thoſe Authors of Quality, as of ſome Perſons who publiſh'd the Hiſtory of their own actions in *Cicero*'s time. This vain Man was dying with an impatience of ſeeing his Conſulſhip repreſented and imbelliſh'd by ſome dexterous and noted Pen. When the Requeſt he ſo earneſtly purſued was deny'd him, he was mightily out of Humor; and try'd to do, as others had done; that is, to write himſelf the Miracles of his Conſulſhip; the noiſe whereof had ſo often plagued the World already in his Orations, Books, and Letters. There was only one thing that ſtop'd him. *That is*, ſays he very frankly, *that there are two great inconveniencies, in a Man's becoming the Hiſtorian of his own Actions. He muſt be too modeſt in his own Panegyricks, and, for a Salvo to his Honour, muſt conceal his own Faults.* Now this is the juſt account of theſe Writers of Memoirs. If the Meaſures of Decency oblige 'em, not to cry up themſelves too much; yet ſelf-love will ingage them to conceal, or at leaſt to diſguiſe their Faults.

Ad familiares, lib. 5. Epiſt. 12.

Since a Hiſtorian ought to be a Stateſman; by the ſame reaſon, he ought to be well acquainted with the Art of War. Without that Qualification, how can he repreſent a Camp, a Siege, or a Battel? But, if it be lawful for me to tell my Thoughts freely, I cannot ſee that ſo many Particulars are neceſſary to a General Hiſtory. They ſuit better with a particular Relation; or elſe with the Memoirs of an Author that has a mind to inſtruct thoſe of his own Profeſſion. I have heard it ſaid to an illuſtrious Prelat, who has an excellent Genius for writing of Hiſtory, as well as for Divinity and the Pulpit; that the late Mr. *de Schomberg*, a Marſhal of *France*, and afterwards a Duke in England, adviſ'd him never to deſcend too far into any Particulars relating to War. *'Tis only*, ſaid that excellent General, *the ableſt Men of the Profeſſion, that can ſpeak juſtly about it.* Beſides, 'tis impoſſible to know exactly all the Circumſtances of an Action. The General gives the orders; and after that is ignorant of a great many

Dr. *Burnet* Biſhop of *Salisbury.*

many things that happen. The Subaltern Officers can ſcarce give account of any thing, but what they did themſelves. One would think that the Memoirs, which *Cæſar* tranſmitted to Poſterity, ſhould be exact to the laſt degree. And yet there were ſome Perſons, in his days, that did not credit 'em too much. *Cæſar*, ſaid they, *has been too credulous in receiving the Reports of other Men's Actions; and is not faithful in the Account of his own; whether it be, that his Memory deceiv'd him; or that he had no mind to tell the naked Truth.* Now, ſince 'tis ſo very hard to know the true Circumſtances of a Battel, where every thing is in Confuſion on all Hands, is it reaſonable to oblige a Hiſtorian to deſcribe its particulars? To what purpoſe ſhould he ſpeak ſo minutely of a March, an Encampment, or a Siege? What uſefulneſs is there at the bottom of theſe things? Few trouble themſelves about them, bating thoſe of the Profeſſion. Hiſtory is more concern'd to form an Honeſt Man, than to inſtruct a Soldier or an Officer. Theſe Reaſons encourag'd me to undertake the Hiſtory of a Reign, blended with a great number of Sieges and Battles; tho' at the ſame time I know nothing of the Military Art.

Sueton. Jul. Cæſ. cap. 56

'Tis equally true, that I have as little Experience in affairs of State or Intrigues of Courts. But then I do not offer the Hiſtory of what happen'd in my own Time. I employ all the Care and Diſcretion, I am maſter of, to pick out my Hiſtory from the different Authors, that have wrote upon my Subject. Some People fancy, that a Man cannot be a good Hiſtorian, without he have ſecret and curious Memoirs. And 'tis by ſuch means that ſome Authors keep up and give a Reputation to their Books. *Varillas* amus'd the World at firſt by giving it out, that he compil'd his Hiſtories, from Manuſcripts in the King of *France*'s Library, and Secret Memoirs kept up in the Cloſets of the firſt Families of the Kingdom. But ſo ſoon as the World examin'd the bold Advances of that vain Writer, they found his Books were nothing but Romances a little glibly wrote. And when he was urg'd to name his Vouchers, he could cite none but decryed Authors, confus'd Manuſcripts, and Memoirs ſo Secret, that the Poſſeſſors of 'em would not be nam'd. For my part,

I freely own that I have not yet met with any of these rare and curious Memoirs. In imitation of *Livy* and *Tacitus*, who compil'd their Histories from the works of those that wrote before them; I have carefully collected the best Accounts I could meet with in this Country, and digested 'em into the following History, in as useful and instructing a Method, as I could.

The Model, I took my Measures from, is *Tacitus*'s Annals, what we have of 'em: Not for his Style, or the Mysterious Strain that he affects throughout his Books: But for the Design and Scheme of the Work. 'Tis apparent, *Tacitus* his principal View was, to shew by what means, and by what Degrees, Tyranny was entirely settled at *Rome* after the Death of *Augustus*. Now my chief Aim is, to represent the Methods made use of after the Death of *Henry* IV. to extinguish the small Remains of Liberty in *France*; to oppress the Clergy, Nobility and People; and in fine, to lay the Foundations of that overgrown power, that in our days has made all *Europe* affraid. Perhaps I shall be twitted with this, that if I have not come up neither to the Spirit, nor the Sentiments of *Tacitus* his Style; yet I have imitated his ill Nature. Some charge him with giving an unfavourable Turn to all the Actions he describes; and seldom commending the Vertue and Goodness of the Actors. But, besides that the number of good People was always very small; when a Man is oblig'd to bring upon the Stage Ambitious Persons, sacrificing all to Greatness and Power, and base flattering Courtiers, that make no scruple of betraying their Religion and Country; should these Actors be enroll'd with Honest Men? All that can be requir'd of a Historian, is this, that since Men are seldom all over corrupt, and wicked in every thing, he is not to conceal or disguise the good or commendable actions of a wicked Man.

Polybius judiciously remarks, that, *when an Author is oblig'd to speak ill of any Person, he ought not to mind what will please the Enemies of that Man. He ought to tye himself up by an inviolable Law, always to observe the Measures of Truth and Decency. Those who are sway'd by Hatred and Anger, are inconsiderate and rash in their Accounts and Reflections.* *Polybius* did well in finding Fault with Polyb. l. 12.

a Greek Hiſtorian that was not ſo fair as to take notice of the good Qualities of *Agathocles* Tyrant of *Syracuſia*. *Since that Man*, ſays Polybius, *rais'd himſelf from a Potter's Servant, to be a King in Sicily; gave ſo much Trouble to the Puiſſant Republick of Carthage, and died peaceable Poſſeſſor of the Kingdom he had purchas'd; no Body can deny that* Agathocles *was entitled to uncommon Qualities. Without theſe, how could he have compaſs'd ſuch extraordinary things. Therefore, Hiſtorians ought to do him Juſtice, in telling with equal ſincerity both his good and his bad Endowments.* This Rule I propos'd to my ſelf with Reference to Cardinal *Richelieu* and ſome others. Tho' I entertain quite other Thoughts of that Miniſter, from his Flatterers: For, in ſhort, I cannot without Horror think of a Prelat that ſacrific'd to his Ambition the Liberty of his Country, and the Peace of all Europe. I am ſo far from regarding the Tranſports of St. *Germain*, and the Partiſans of *Mary de Medicis*; that I take Pleaſure in deſcribing whatever was good and valuable in that great Stateſman.

There is yet one thing, in which I would gladly have imitated *Livy* and *Tacitus*. 'Tis *Brevity*. The former ſpends only ten Books in repreſenting the more remarkable Tranſactions in the Republick of *Rome* for ſeveral Ages: And the other in one ſmall Volume comprehends the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*. But 'twas not poſſible for me to be ſo ſhort. The Reaſon is obvious. The Religion of the *Romans* caus'd no Diſputes; they were not divided into different Sects; their Theology had no Connexion with their Political Affairs. But in *Chriſtendom* the Caſe is alter'd. There Eternal Conteſts prevail; and the People are divided into different Communions. Princes imbarque in the ſame Plea with Divines, and act joyntly with 'em. Now that the Popes have ſettled their Monarchy in the Weſt, the Court of *Rome* has a Hand in every thing. Sovereigns have great and frequent Scuffles with her. So that the Affairs of Religion; Theological Controverſies; the Intereſt and Pretenſions of Popes, Biſhops, and Clergymen; the Cabals of Monks; and ſeveral other things relating to the Church, are a very conſiderable additional Bulk to a Book. The good Fathers, the Jeſuits, are to be met

met with in every Action, ever ſince the Being of their Society. An Account of their Intrigues, Interpriſes, and Various Negotiations, is a conſiderable Task for a Hiſtorian.

Beſides, in the time of the *Romans*, things were quite in another Form, from what they are now. There was not ſo many Negotiations with their Neighbors, nor ſuch great Intrigues in the Senat, among the People, or even in the imperial Court. The *Romans* made War to inlarge their Dominions; they had only a ſmall number of Allies, whom they pretected againſt the Powers that annoy'd 'em. All their Intrigues center'd in gaining the People by liberal preſents, or promiſes of a Diſtribution of Lands, or the hopes of obtaining a ſhare in the Goveanment. Without Diſpute, the buſieſt time for Intrigues in the Republick of *Rome*, was that of the two Triumvirats. We have no exact Hiſtory of 'em. But 'tis eaſy to conceive, that the Perſons concern'd in them, were only thoſe who put in for the Command of Armies in remote Provinces. The reſt were engag'd to the prevailing Party by the intereſts of Ambition or Avarice. That which *Tacitus* calls the *great Secret of the Emperors Government*, conſiſted in being Maſter of the Legions. He who had Mony or Credit enough to raiſe them, was quickly proclaim'd Emperor. After that, the queſtion was decided by fighting the Poſſeſſor of the Empire, or a Competitor. The Conqueror became a Lawful Soveraign, and the Loſer was ſure to be declar'd an Uſurper. In an abſolute and tyrannical Government, all depends upon the Will of the Prince. The Favourite, and the Miſtriſs, are cloath'd with Authority. When they are once ſettled, the Sword, Poyſon, falſe accuſations, and violence, are the only means made uſe of to ſupport the Government and defeat its Enemies. This was the State of Affairs under the Succeſſors of *Auguſtus*.

Now the Hiſtory of ſuch a State, as the Republick and Empire of *Rome*, ought not to be very large. But nowadays the affairs of all the Chriſtian Princes are ſo blended together; they have ſo many Leagues and Alliances, ſome for aggrandiſing themſelves, and others for a Safeguard from the Ambition of their Neighbors; that 'tis impoſſible to write the Hiſtory of *Germany*,

France,

France, *Spain*, or *England*, without taking notice at the ſame time of all that paſſes in *Europe*. If two petty Princes fall out, the one implores the Protection of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the other throws himſelf into the Arms of *France*. If theſe two Crowns come to a War, the one declares for *Spain*, and the other for *France*, with a proſpect of advantaging themſelves by the Juncture. In fine, the neighbouring States, who are leſs intereſs'd in the Quarrel, are oblig'd to ſide in with one or t'other, or at leaſt to be in Arms, in order to keep the Ballance even, and to take Care that the Conqueror does not become too great upon the Ruins of his Enemy. The Intrigues of every Court, the Intereſts and Motions of Princes and great Lords in a State, where abſolute and arbitrary Power does not altogether prevail, cannot be ſlightly paſs'd over. If I be not miſtaken, the illuſtrious Hiſtorians that are about to write the Hiſtory of the preſent Reign of *France*, will be oblig'd to ſpend more time (proportionably) upon the Affairs tranſacted during the Minority of *Lewis* XIV. than upon what has happen'd ſince the Peace of the *Pyrenees*. The Intrigues and Motions of the Prince of *Conde*, Cardinal *Mazarin*, and ſome Ladies, at Court, and in the Parliaments, and Provinces, will take up more room, than all the Events that follow'd the Death of *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*. After *Lewis* IV. arriv'd at the pitch which *Richelieu* and *Mazarin* propos'd to themſelves, and to which they taught him the way; all things are manag'd by one or two Miniſters of State, a Miſtreſs, or a certain Lady. Perhaps Time will teach us, what Quality is due to the Lady. The Princes, great Lords, Parliaments, and all, are ſilent and obedient. Wars, Alliances, and Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence, are concerted and reſolv'd upon with the Miniſters, the Miſtreſs, or the Lady. No Preferment, no Place, no Dignity, is to be obtain'd otherwiſe than through one of theſe three Channels. Abroad they do not ingage in intricat and difficult Negotiations. *Le Roy le veut*, is the Anſwer that his Majeſty's Miniſters have often given to thoſe of Foreign Sovereigns, as well as to their Maſter's Subjects.

The caſe was not quite the ſame in the Reign of his Father. *M. de Medicis* was very impatient upon the account of the overgrown Authority of a Magiſtrate or a Miniſter. The K.'s Brother was not always in an even Temper. Tho the firſt Prince of the Blood was a Man of a weak Head; yet a younger Brother of his Family, had no mind to truckle to the Cardinal. Rich and puiſſant Lords on ſome Occaſions gave Proof of their Warmth and Valour. The Proteſtants did not ſuffer themſelves to be cruſh'd, without ſome Reſiſtance; after their Enemies diſpoſſeſs'd 'em of their Cities, and Places of Safety, they continu'd to keep fair with them. Indeed the Monarchy of *Spain* made no formidable Figure abroad. But the Emperor *Ferdinand* became ſo ſtrong in *Germany*, that 'twas fear'd he would ſubdue it entirely. There was a Neceſſity of entring into Leagues with the King of *Sweden*, with all the Proteſtant Princes, and even with the Prince of *Tranſylvania*, who put the Houſe of *Auſtria* to trouble enough. On t'other ſide of the *Alps*, the Buſineſs of *Mantua* occaſion'd extraordinary Commotions. There was a Neceſſity of aſſiſting the Duke of *Nevers*, to maintain him in a Succeſſion, that would not bear a Legal Tryal. *France* ſet Negotiations on foot; and made Leagues with the Sovereign Princes of *Italy*, who took the Alarm from the New Projects of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. To conclude, the Revolutions in *Portugal* and *Catalonia* gave Occaſion to Intrigues and Negotiations in *Spain*. So that, upon the whole, 'twill appear impoſſible to write the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XIII. without falling in with what happen'd all over *Europe* at the ſame time. Upon which Account, I thought my ſelf oblig'd in ſeveral Paſſages of this firſt Part, to carry the Account of the Affairs of Foreign Countries, a little higher. For Inſtance, *Guſtavus Adolphus* makes a great Figure in this Performance; becauſe 'twas almoſt indiſpenſible to ſhew how that Hero got to the Crown of *Sweden*, to the Prejudice of *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, Son to the Eldeſt Son of *Guſtavus*'s Father. In like Manner, the State of the Empire under *Ferdinand* II. cannot be throughly underſtood, without being acquainted with what paſs'd towards the End of *Rodolph*'s Life, and under the Reign of *Matthias*.

I have not ſo great an Opinion of my ſelf, as to fancy that my Style is ſuch as *Lucian* requires in a Hiſtorian. Some of my Friends have told me, that this beginning of ſo great a Work, was worth the reading, and that's ſufficient for me. We ſhould principally think of being uſeful to the Publick, by diſcovering the Truth, or at leaſt, what is moſt likely. For in Hiſtory, we are often oblig'd to take up with Probabilities. The principal Facts, 'tis true, are certainly known. But the Springs, the Reaſons, and Circumſtances of an Action or Enterprize, are always cover'd with ſome Uncertainty: And therefore we muſt content our ſelves with what is moſt probable. I ſtand only upon ſuch things as are more eſſential to a Hiſtorian, namely, *Not to dare to advance any thing that he knows to be falſe; to ſpeak freely all he believes to be true, and to have his Mind void of Prejudice, with reſpect to thoſe of whom he ſpeaks.* 'Twas a judicious Saying of *Lucian*'s, That a Hiſtorian ſhould not imitate the Painter, that invented the Art of drawing Side-ways, on purpoſe to hide the Deformity of a Prince, that wanted one Eye. He ought to repreſent the whole of Perſons. The Love of his Country muſt not hinder him to tell the Loſſes it ſuſtain'd, or the Faults it has committed. His Caſe is much the ſame with that of an Actor. Neither the one nor the other are accountable for the Misfortunes they repreſent. The former is oblig'd to prefer Truth to his Intereſt and Humor. Truth is the only Goddeſs to which he ought to make Sacrifice. If he have a mind to be reckon'd a Hiſtorian, rather than a Flatterer, he ought always to keep in his View the Judgment of Poſterity.

Lib. 11. *De Oratore.*

'Tis ſaid that *Alexander* wiſh'd to riſe up ſome time after his Death. He wanted to know what the World would then think of a Prince, that had made ſo much Noiſe in it. *It does not amuſe me*, ſaid he, *that I am now cry'd up. Some dread me, and others would win my Favor.* If Princes form'd their Judgments as reaſonably as this Conqueror, to whom they love to be compar'd, they would not be at the pains to hire Authors, nor to raiſe Triumphal Arches and Statues, nor to aſſemble the Men of Learning to give 'em Injunctions about the Medals they would have ſtruck to their Ho-

nour,

nour, nor to compoſe Magnificent Inſcriptions, to be engrav'd upon Marble and Braſs, upon the Pedeſtals of Statues, upon the tops of Triumphal Arches, or above the Gates of the Metropolitan and conquer'd Places. They would content themſelves with governing their People well, and making them happy; and leave to them the care of immortaliſing their Benefactor's Name after his Death. What Service will ye get from thoſe Hiſtories wrote by *Command*; theſe monuments that your own Vanity, or the Flattery of ſome engaged Souls, caus'd to be rear'd up? A Hiſtorian that will not be byaſs'd by Fear or Hope, by Friendſhip or Hatred; that will ingage in no Party, nor be partial to any Country; that will call things by their proper names, without regarding who they pleaſe or offend; ſuch an Author, I ſay, who comes up to *Lucian*'s Standard, with one ſtroak of his Pen will expoſe the Ridiculouſneſs of your Pride, and the mean baſeneſs of your Flatterers.

Before *Cicero* and *Lucian*; *Polybius* the great Maſter and Model of good Hiſtorians gave much the ſame precepts. " A private Man, ſays he, ought to love his " Friends and his Country: He may ſhew his Affecti- " on to his Benefactors, and his hatred to his Enemies. " But when he is grac'd with the Character of a Hiſto- " rian, he ought to forget all that. Then you are ob- " lig'd oftentimes to ſpeak well of your Enemies, and " make Panegyricks upon 'em, when their actions " deſerve it. If ye lop off Truth from Hiſtory, it re- " ſembles an Animal without its Eyes. And what " remains is altogether uſeleſs. Therefore a Hiſto- " rian muſt not ſtand to reprove his Friends, and ſpeak " well of his Enemies. On ſome occaſions he muſt " not be affraid to condemn thoſe who are common- " ly cry'd up. Thoſe who ſit at the Helm of Affairs, " do not always ſucceed, but yet they are not always " faulty. A good Author ought to judge of things in " themſelves, without regard to Perſons, and ſpeak " of 'em as the ſubject requires. For my part, I am ſo little affraid of the Reproach that French-men are commonly twitted with, namely, that they over-value their own Country; this I fear ſo little, that I queſtion much if I ought not now to Juſtifie myſelf, to

my Countrymen, for what they'll meet with in this Book, *viz.* that I do not ſpeak much to the advantage of *France* or its Government. They wrong me if they fancy that I have any ſpite againſt my Country, or that I left it upon that account.

I am a French-man; and am proud of being ſuch. But I am not ſo fooliſhly bigotted to my Country, as to think it much ſuperior to others. Wit, Merit, and Vertue, are every where to be met with. If ſome Countries have a Title to more Livelineſs and Politeneſs; theſe Advantages are not ſo conſiderable, as to juſtifie ſuch a Preference. That People, whom ſome are pleas'd to charge with a heavy Dullneſs, have commonly more Senſe, Solidity and Integrity, than thoſe who value themſelves upon their nice Parts, upon a ſubtile and quaint Wit. Queſtonleſs the one is infinitely more valuable than the other. But I love it, as an honeſt Man ought to love it. To wiſh well to our Country-men, to pray God they may want for nothing that may contribute to make 'em happy in this and the other World, that is, to my mind, to have a true and unfeign'd Love for one's Country. Now, I thank God, I can proteſt that I am of that Diſpoſition. St. *Paul* wiſh'd that all his Audience ſhould become ſuch as he was in every thing bating the Chains he wore. I pour forth the ſame Wiſhes for my Country-men. Heavens grant, that they all may be like me, ready, upon a neceſſity, to forſake their Country to follow the Light of their Conſcience. Tho' I am ſtill engag'd to *France*, by the Eſteem, that a reaſonable Man ought to have for the civil Society, in which, by God's Providence, he was born; yet I believe my ſelf united to other Nations by the tye of Religion and Humanity. *France* may be happy and flouriſhing without diſquieting her Neighbours, or uſurping unjuſtly the Property of another. Becauſe I am of ſuch a Nation, ought I to wiſh that ſhe ſhould become the Miſtriſs of *Europe*? Ought I to approve the boundleſs Ambition of the Prince that governs it? Ought I to commend my Country-men for ſtriking out with their own Hands the Chains, that now oppreſs 'em. The Law of Nature requires, that I ſhould contribute as much as poſſible to the Happineſs and Repoſe of my

Acts 26. 29.

Country,

Country, and that I ſhould even defend it, when unjuſtly attack'd. But the ſame Law of Nature do's equally oblige me, if I can, to hinder my Countrymen to ruin themſelves, and to injure others. I am ſo far from being allow'd to ſpeak well of their ſhameful Servitude, and Criminal Interpriſes; that both Reaſon and Religion require me to blame, and oppoſe them to my utmoſt.

By a ſtrange Cataſtrophe of Language and Reaſon, in *France*, a Man is reckon'd *well affected to the State*, when he ſhews a ridiculous Zeal for the King's Power. Is it ſo then? Is the King alone, the State? To my mind, theſe two things are very differnt. The *State*, ſignifies a certain number of People aſſociated, and living under the ſame Laws. The *King*, is the Perſon employ'd to maintain 'em, and to take a watchful care that the People be happy, as long as the Condition of every one allows it. Pray, wherein do's the Happyneſs of a Nation conſiſt? In this ſure; that ſhe is oblig'd to obey no Laws, but ſuch as are confirm'd by Cuſtom out of Mind, or enacted in the manner agreed to by the People upon their firſt Confederacy, or elſe in their Aſſemblies ſince; in this, that every Private Man may ſafely and peaceably injoy his Fortune, and the Fruit of his Induſtry, without Fears of having it taken away by Force: In this, that the Taxes, for the Publick Charge, are ſo regulated, that no Man pays more, than he's able to pay, without incommoding himſelf much. To love the *State*, or the Country, is to wiſh it all theſe Advantages, with ſo much Ardour, that one would give their Life to retrieve them when loſt, or preſerve 'em while they're yet ſo happy as to be poſſeſs'd of 'em. In this ſenſe, *'tis ſweet and honourable to die for our Country.* But to love what in *France* they call the *Puiſſance and Glory of the King*, is to endeavour the Eſtabliſhment of Tyranny. Now that the Principles of *Macchiavel's* deteſtable Politicks are receiv'd in *Europe*, a Prince thinks himſelf great and glorious, when he has found out the way to make himſelf the abſolute Maſter of the Lives and Fortunes of his People; and with impunity to make himſelf Great upon the Ruine of his Neighbours. If that be

not true Tyranny all Mankind is miſtaken. Tyranny can mean nothing elſe, but the Government of thoſe who mind nothing but their own Advantage.

Why ſhould I diſſemble? 'Tis the Love I have for my Countrey, that inſpires me with an extream Averſion to ſuch Politicks, as are Enemies to Mankind. I have no Eſteem for thoſe who follow ſuch Maxims, let their other Qualities be never ſo fine, and their Station in the World be never ſo eminent. Thoſe who are born for Slavery, may brand me, if they will, as a *Seditious Author*; for ſo they talk of thoſe who have yet any Love for their Liberty, in a Country where 'tis quite loſt. Their Calumnies ſhall not trouble me. A Learned Man condemns the Hiſtory of Mr. *de Thou*, becauſe *'tis wrote*, ſays he, *with a Liberty that does not ſuit with the Age*. I am not ſo preſumptuous as to compare my ſelf tothat great Man. He was infinitely above me by his Birth and Station; and yet more by the Sublimity of his Genius, and his large Compaſs of fine Knowledge. The Love of Truth is the only thing in which I am capable to imitate him; nay, I ſhall be bold to ſay, in which I endeavour to ſurpaſs him. His Character, his Places, his Relations at Court, have oblig'd him to obſerve ſome Meaſures, that I think may be lawfully diſpens'd with in me. Since Liberty was reckon'd inconvenient in his time, 'twill be much more ſo in mine. Let them ſay as they will, I'll do as Mr. *de Thou* did, in deſpiſing his worthleſs Cenſor. We are entitled to Liberty as well as thoſe of former Ages: Why ſhould not we ſpeak the Truth as well as they?

Juſtus Lipſius.

It remains, that I give Account, why I publiſh'd this Hiſtory, before 'twas all finiſh'd. A large Book frights moſt People. The Reign of *Lewis* XIII. has ſome remarkable Periods, viz. The King's being of Age, the Removal of the Queen, the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Richelieu*; the taking of *Rochel*; aud the Foreign War. The Reader may ſtop a little at every one of theſe Periods, becauſe they're attended by a conſiderable Alteration of Affairs. For that Reaſon I have divided the Work into ſeveral Parts. And perhaps the World will not be diſpleaſed, that they have 'em one after another. The Judgment of the Publick, upon the firſt, may correct and direct me in thoſe which are

to

to follow. Thoſe who will favour me with any ſecret Memoirs, may addreſs them, if they pleaſe, to the Bookſeller. They ſhall be receiv'd with all Gratitude, and us'd with all the Diſcretion imaginable. I ſhall only beg of 'em, that they'll allow the Peruſal of the whole, and that they would not expect ſuch things to be commended as are blame-worthy, or ſuch things blam'd as are not faulty.

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There is in the Preſs, and will be ſpeeedily Publiſh'd.

THE Elements of Hiſtory, from the Creation of the World to the Monarchy of *Conſtantin* the Great. Being an Abridgment of *Howel*'s Hiſtory of the World, done by himſelf. Containing the Affairs of the Empires, in a new Order, and Method; with a Deſcription of the Kingdoms and Republicks Contemporary with them: And a brief Account of their Magiſtrates, and Political Governments. Written Originally in Latin, by *William Howel*, LL. D. For the Uſe of the Univerſities. And now Tranſlated into Engliſh. Printed for *Bernard Lintott*, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, *Fleetſtreet*.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

LEWIS XIII.

King of *France* and *Navarre*.

THE Reign, treated of in this Hiſtory, is full of great Revolutions. Here we are preſented with a view of Civil and Foreign Wars, and Bloody Battels; Towns attack'd, and withal handſomely and bravely defended; the Proteſtants perſecuted in *France*; but ſupported in *Hungary*, *Germany*, and the *United Provinces*: The Nobility, Clergy, Parliaments, and People, reduc'd to Slavery. A King uncapable to manage the great Affairs, he was engag'd in, leaves all to his Favourites and Miniſters. Being equally prepoſſeſs'd againſt his Mother, his Wife, and his Brother; he uſes one of them unkindly, and obliges the others to enter into Leagues both at home and abroad, and at laſt to throw themſelves into the arms of the ancient Enemies of *France*. The Princes and Lords being diſoblig'd by the Mal-adminiſtration of the Regent, and the overgrown Authority

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of a Favourite or Miniſter, take up Arms under the ſpecious Pretext of the publick Good. The Proteſtants provok'd to the laſt degree, by the frequent Infractions of the moſt inviolable Edict, that ever was; do at length riſe up in arms for the Defence of their Liberty of Conſcience, and the Preſervation of the Priviledges juſtly granted to 'em in the former Reign.

The Princes of *Italy* being gall'd by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are forc'd to have recourſe to the Protection of *France*, and to joyn in with it. Theſe Sovereigns being jealous of their Peace and Liberty, conſented that the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould put into the *French* King's hands, a place that might facilitat his March into *Italy*, in caſe his ſuccour were needful. A Conqueror comes from the North for the Defence of thoſe of his Religion in *Germany*, and defeats all the ambitious Projects of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. The Emperor trembles for fear of loſing his hereditary Countries, and *France* joyns in ſo advantageouſly with the K. of *Sweden*, that in fine it ſnatches from the Houſe of *Auſtria* a part of its ancient Patrimony. The Succeſs of the *Spaniſh* Armies in *Picardy*, puts *Paris* it ſelf in fear. The King of *France* marches from thence to repulſe the Enemies, and could not refrain from crying, when he ſaw the Fire reaching almoſt to the Gates of his own Palace. Some Revolutions happ'ning on t'other ſide of the *Pyrenees*, change the face of Affairs. *Catalonia* ſurrenders it ſelf to *Lewis* XIII. *Portugal* expels the *Caſtilians*, and ſets the Duke of *Braganſa* upon the Throne of his Anceſtors. *Philip* IV. takes the alarm, and marches from *Madrid*, in order to reduce the *Catalans*, and ſecure the States of *Arragon*. But he had the Mortification, that his Journey ſerv'd only to furniſh him with a quicker Intelligence, that *France* was poſſeſs'd of the Town of *Perpignan*, and the County of *Rouſſillon*.

In theſe extraordinary Revolutions we will meet with notable Examples of Vice and Virtue; Treachery richly rewarded; Dignities of the firſt Rank, ſome obtain'd by the moſt infamous Crimes, and others diſpos'd of according to Merit; great and

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conſiderable Settlements either ſlighted or rejected, thro' the Influence of Religion and Probity. Some Lords ſneakingly redeem their Lives or Eſtates, by becoming the Slaves of an ambitious and revengeful Cardinal. Others, notwithſtanding the Threats of being ſacrific'd to his Paſſion and Intereſt, do ſtill retain a noble Courage, continuing faithful and true to their Friends, and ſuffering even Death it ſelf with a heroical Bravery.

I purpoſe to illuſtrate this Piece of the Modern Hiſtory of *France*; which is ſo curious and diverſify'd, that it is a downright Temptation to any Man, that has a mind to write any thing agreeable or inſtructing. 'Tis true, the Undertaking has often frighted me, and perhaps 'tis above my reach. If I commend the principal Actors, upon this Scene, I run the riſque of paſſing for a Flatterer; If I ſpeak too freely of 'em, the World will brand me with ill nature. Panegyricks are commonly fulſome and provoking to the Reader. He is better pleas'd with the Diſcovery of the Vices and ſecret Paſſions of Men. 'Tis an air of Liberty that tickles and diverts him. But after all, ſhould I offer to overgratifie this natural Itch we are poſſeſs'd with of hearing others blam'd; would not the World ſay, that I have wrote a *Satyr*, and not a Hiſtory?

I ſhall endeavour to avoid either Extream, as much as poſſible. There's nothing can oblige me to an unjuſt Commendation or Accuſation of Perſons, who were, almoſt all of 'em, dead before I came into the World. What particular Reaſon can I have to love or to hate 'em? The difference of Sentiments with reſpect to Religion or Government, ſhall never hinder me to do Juſtice to Merit, or to ſpeak well of what is truly praiſe-worthy. I thank God, I live in a Country, where every Man enjoys the uncommon Felicity, of ſpeaking freely, and without Reſtraint, what he reaſonably thinks. If I cannot be ſerviceable to my Country; at leaſt I have the Liberty of deploring its Misfortunes.

Before I launch into the Matter, 'twill be proper to premiſe a few things concerning *Henry* IV. and the end of his Life. 'Tis worth while to underſtand

The State of Europe *and* France *in the End of the Reign of* Hen. IV.

what was the Posture of the Affairs of *Europe* and *France*, when the latter lost the greatest of Kings. He imploy'd the first Years of his Reign, in regaining, what by Force of Arms and other Intrigues, the Cities, and Lords, who under a Pretext of Religion, had form'd a powerful League against him; and in making War with *Philip* II. K. of *Spain*. For that ambitious Monarch supported the League with powerful Succors of Troops and Mony. His Design was to set a Prince of his own Family upon the Throne, or at least to dismember the Monarchy; the Greatness whereof was an invincible Obstacle to all his vast Projects. But at last being worn out with Diseases, and his Country being exhausted by the infinite Sums of Mony, and the large Numbers of Troops and Ships, that were lost in the Wars with the United Provinces, *England* and *France*; After all this vain Expence of Men and Treasure, he was fain to make Peace with *Henry* upon such Conditions, as considering that *France* was as much exhausted as *Spain*, were not to be look'd for.

Elizabeth Queen of *England*, and the States of the United Provinces, made loud Complaints, that the King of *France* had forsaken his true and faithful Allies, in urging them to make Peace with *Philip*. *This*, said they, *was the way to lose the favourable Opportunity of improving our Interest, by the approaching and almost unavoidable Fall of the* Spaniards. *Henry* excus'd himself as much as possible; he pleaded the weak Condition of his Kingdom, which was uncapable to carry on a foreign War, after having felt the Severity of a Civil War, commenc'd several Years before, and scarce then finish'd. The Plea was plausible; but 'twas presum'd the King was also impatient to enjoy himself in a pleasurable Tranquility, after having encounter'd so much Peril and Fatigue.

It must be own'd that *Henry* had reason to distrust his Forces, for the time to come. The Duke of *Metœur* who was canton'd in *Brittany*, would not have concluded a Peace, had not he believ'd that that of *Spain* was absolutely resolv'd upon. On the other hand, the *French* Protestants, who had so

bravely

bravely and ſteddily ſtood by the King that was bred up among them; theſe, I ſay, began to be jealous. They had taken the alarm from the change of his Religion, and the Favors by which he regain'd the Lords that had joyn'd in a League againſt him. And at laſt his freſh engagements with the Court of *Rome*, their cruel and implacable enemy, cool'd their affections to the laſt degree. *Henry* very prudently hearten'd his beſt Subjects by the Edict of *Nantes*, which was concerted with a great deal of application and maturity. It had been well for them, if the Succeſſors of this good Prince had ſuffer'd them to enjoy the privileges which he ſo juſtly vouchſaf'd 'em.

Peace being eſtabliſh'd both at home and abroad, *Henry* endeavor'd to win the Hearts of all his Subjects, by giving it out, that his only and inceſſant care would be, to ſecure, to his People, plenty and repoſe. Manufactures were ſet up; certain impoſts were taken off. And 'tis poſſible the great debts he had contracted, and the mortgaging of the greateſt part of his Demeſne, were the Reaſons why he did not take off the other heavy Taxes, but rather liſten'd to thoſe who counſel'd him to heap up Mony in his Treaſury. However he had ſo much good conduct, as to prevent and ſtifle all murmurings; by making the *French* believe that his moſt paſſionate deſire was to enlarge their happineſs. At the ſame time he endeavor'd to put a ſtop to the turbulent Humor of the Lords, and perhaps to ruine them inſenſibly, in obliging them by his own example to lay out large Sums in building, gaming, and other criminal Pleaſures. By ſo doing he compaſs'd two ends, that is, he likewiſe gratified his natural inclination, for it bended that way; tho' at the ſame time he manag'd it wiſely. In effect, thoſe who might have raiſed tumults in the Kingdom, when drain'd both of Mony and Credit, were fain to have recourſe to the liberality of the Prince.

However matters did not ſucceed ſo well as he expected. The Conſtable of *Montmorenci*, the Dukes of *Montpenſier* and *Eſpernon*, the Marſhals of *Bouillon* and *Biron* reſolv'd to take up Arms to ſhew their reſentments; ſome of 'em becauſe they were not rewarded to their mind; and others, becauſe they were not entruſted with

the Kings Privy Counſels, ſo much as ſome particular Favourites. *Biron* the moſt imprudent and fiery of 'em all, was brought to condign Puniſhment; and *Bouillon* ſubmitted himſelf; by which means they ſtifled the Conſpiracy, that *Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy* had plotted in his journey to *Paris*, and *Philip* III. the new K. of *Spain* had promis'd to ſupport. That of the Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*, the King's Miſtriſs, whom he had fooliſhly given a promiſe of Marriage, before he married *Mary de Medicis*: That, I ſay, might have had troubleſome conſequences; had not it been blown up by the condemnation of *Entragues*, Father to the Marchioneſs, and the empriſonment of the Count *d' Auvergne* her own Brother, and natural Son to *Charles* IX.

The K. complain'd, that the K. of *Spain* promis'd aſſiſtance to all the Seditious Perſons within his Dominions. And the whole matter was brought to light by the diſcovery of an intrigue between the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, and a Gentleman of *Provence*, who had endeavor'd to deliver the Town of *Marſeilles* to *Philip* III. But two rival States do always find matter to recriminat, when the one charges the other with the ſecret infringement of Treaties. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador roundly upbraided the King with giving aſſiſtance to the United Provinces after the Peace of *Vervins*, and uſing his Efforts to ſupport the *Mores* in *Spain*. In ſome points *Henry* was as unjuſt and unſincere, as *Philip*. Princes are ſeldom fond of ſuch excellent Vertues. The King of *France* having ſettled his affairs, and amaſs'd together ſome Millions of Money, thro' the induſtry of the Duke *de Sulli* Superintendant of the King's Revenues, took up a reſolution to level the pride of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. They, on the other Hand, joyn in a a League to oppoſe the Ambitious Deſigns of *France*.

While *Henry* waited for a plauſible pretext of declaring War againſt *Spain*, he made it his buſineſs to renew his ancient Alliances abroad, and ſet Negotiations on foot with ſeveral Princes, in order to engage them in his Intereſts. In the Treaty of Marriage between Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta *Iſabel*, *Philip* II. gave her, upon certain conditions, the Soveraignty of the Provinces then poſſeſs'd by him in the *Netherlands*, *Catharine* Siſter to *Iſabel* being married to *Emmanuel* Duke

Duke of *Savoy*, brought him only an indifferent Sum of Money. Now this unequal diviſion diſoblig'd the Ambition of a Prince, that always made it his Buſineſs to aggrandize himſelf, but never was able to compaſs his end. *Charles* thought they might well have given him the Dutchy of *Milan*. *Henry*, in the mean time, ſtudied to make the beſt advantage of the Duke's diſſatisfaction. He propos'd to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of a Country, that he had ſo juſt a title to, and to marry his own eldeſt Daughter to his Son. Upon theſe Conditions *Charles* willingly makes an offenſive and defenſive League with *France*.

Some pretend, all the States of *Europe* were engag'd in it, or at leaſt that they ought to have done ſo, in order to reduce the Houſe of *Auſtria* to *Spain* and their hereditary Countries in Germany. But the project attributed to *Henry* upon this Head, is wonderfully Chimerical. If it be true that he never propos'd to himſelf any other end in ſo great an undertaking, than merely the Glory of putting the Affairs of *Europe* to a juſt and equal balance; then, to be plain, he was the vaineſt and moſt oſtentative Man in his Kingdom. Is not it more probable, that when he ſaw a favourable juncture for reſenting the injuries *Spain* had done him, he took up a Reſolution of making the beſt uſe of it?

At that time the whole World was apprehenſive of the fall of that Monarchy. *Philip* III. was a Prince of far leſs Spirit than his Father, and found the Monarchy in ſo bad a Condition, that he was not able to furniſh Archduke *Albert* with the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the War with the *United Provinces*; but was forc'd to conclude a diſhonourable Truce with the States General, acknowledging them to be free Provinces, to which neither he nor the Archduke had any pretenſions. Not that *Spain* wanted good Generals and brave Officers, and Stateſmen bred up by *Philip* II. but the Duke *de Lerme*, their firſt Miniſter, had neither genius, nor capacity enough to advance his Maſter's Reputatation abroad, and govern a Monarchy, to which its own greatneſs was always a Burden. 1609.

The Houſe of *Auſtria* was yet weaker in Germany. The Emperor *Rodolphus* was not very vicious, but he wanted the diſtinguiſhing Vertues of a Prince. He

new'd himſelf up in the City of *Pragh*, and thought of nothing leſs than Politicks. Had he light upon good Miniſters, he had not hinder'd 'em to do well. But he took ſo little care in chooſing or overlooking 'em, that knew not whether he was well or ill ſerv'd. There was no good underſtanding between him and his Brethren. The Archduke *Matthias* oblig'd him to quit the Kingdom of Hungary, and ſecure him of the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Bohemia*. Both the one and the other, being equally uncapable to preſerve Peace among Subjects of different Religions, were oblig'd to yield to ſuch conditions, as the ſtronger party impos'd.

England is ſo ſituated, that it ought equally to fear the overgrown Power of *Spain*, and that of *France*. *James* I. ſucceeded to Queen *Elizabeth*; a Princeſs, whoſe Memory is yet Sacred to the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of her wonderful Courage, her uncommon Prudence, and unfeigned Affection for her People. The two Crowns vy'd with one another in endeavouring to ſettle an Alliance with this new King. They thought, that he being more powerful than his Predeceſſors by the Union of *Scotland* with *England*, would be able to keep the Balance of *Europe* even, or at leaſt to turn it to what ſide he pleas'd. But *James* being always inconſtant and timorous, and govern'd by his Wife and Favourites, quickly gave the World to know that he was fitter to manage his Pen than his Sword; to write upon a Scholaſtical Queſtion, than to Reign with Glory, and make himſelf redoubted by his Enemies. He made a Treaty of Alliance with *Henry*. The two Kings engag'd mutually to aſſiſt the *United Provinces*, and ſuccour one another, in caſe either was moleſted by the *Spaniard*. The Court of *Madrid* was diſoblig'd by the K. of *England*'s engaging in an Alliance contrary to their Intereſt; and 'tis poſſible that underhand they favour'd the Mal-contents. In a ſhort time the Engliſh Papiſts form'd that Horrible Conſpiracy, call'd, *The Gun-Powder* Plot. After that *James* was always afraid of the *Spaniards*; and they made ſuch Advantage of his Diſpoſition and Genius, and the Avarice of his Favourites and Miniſters, that he was ſo far from oppoſing the Deſigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that he

patiently

patiently ſuffer'd 'em to injure his own Son-in-law, the Elector *Palatin*.

This was the Poſture of the Affairs of *Europe*, when *Henry* met with a plauſible Pretext for raiſing Troops, and marching them to the Frontiers in *Champaigne*. *John William*, Duke of *Cleves*, *Bergh*, and *Juliers*, died without Children, and left a very litigious Succeſſion. His four Siſters, or their Children, had each of 'em different Pretenſions. Some Conſtitutions of the Empire, contradicting one another, render'd the Affair more perplex'd. The one adjudg'd the Succeſſion only to Heirs Male; the other ſuppos'd, that Daughters were capable to ſucceed. Among all the Competitors, the Plea of *John Sigiſmond* Elector of *Brandenburg*, and that of *Philp Louis* Palatin of *Newburg* were moſt plauſible. The former married the Daughter of the late Duke's Eldeſt Siſter; the other married the Second Siſter, who pretended the Succeſſion was determin'd to her, in oppoſition to her late Elder Siſter's Children, before Duke *John William*. Both theſe Princes poſſeſs'd themſelves of a part of the Eſtate, to which they equally claim'd an entire Right. But in the mean time, while they were endeavouring to expel one another by the Force of Arms, 'twas to be fear'd that a third more powerful than they ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of all the beſt Places. Whereupon the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, who was equally a Friend to 'em both, got 'em to conſent to a Proviſional Treaty; in which they promis'd to leave their difference to an Arbitration, and joyn their Forces in oppoſition to any other Competitors. In the mean time the Government was manag'd equally and jointly by both, without Prejudice to the Emperor's Right, or that of other Pretenders. The States of the Country aſſembled at *Duſſeldorp*, approv'd that Tranſaction upon the deſire of the K. of *France*, who had already declar'd for theſe two Princes.

Henry IV. *makes Preparations for a War.*

They were, both of 'em, Proteſtants; and the *United Provinces* ſupported 'em as much as they were able. This gave Umbrage to the Archdukes of the *Netherlands*, becauſe their Territories border'd on one ſide with *Juliers*. And a certain Prince of their Family, would fain have made ſome profitable Uſe of the Litigiouſneſs of that Succeſſion. The Pretext of Religion

ligion was never neglected; but at that time it was more made uſe of than ever. So, the Governour of the Town of *Juliers* is brought over; *Leopold* of *Auſtria* Biſhop of *Strasburg* and *Paſſau*, gets privately into the place; he brings with him a Commiſſion from the Emperor, who pretended he was the Natural and Sovereign Judge of all Controverſies relating to the Fiefs of the Empire; and accordingly gave his Couſin *Leopold* power to adminiſter Affairs in that Country.

The Biſhop ſeem'd to act tenderly in the Uſurpation. Had theſe two Dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves* been added to the Hereditary Countries, the Houſe of *Auſtria* had been more able to ſink the *German* Liberty. Beſides, the *Netherlands* lying contiguous, might furniſh 'em upon a Call with the beſt *Spaniſh* Troops. Therefore all the Princes of *Germany* had reaſon to take the Alarm. But the Difference of Religion fomented mutual Jealouſies. The Duke of *Bavaria* and the Electors of *Mayence* and *Treves*, with ſome others, were affraid the Proteſtant Intereſt would be too ſtrong, in caſe a Proteſtant ſucceded. Accordingly, the Catholicks, aſſembled at *Wirtsbourg* draw up a League, in which the Duke of *Bavaria* is the Head; and diſpatch Deputies to *Rome* and *Madrid* to demand Aſſiſtance from Pope *Paul* V. and *Philip* King of *Spain*.

On the other Hand, the Proteſtants met at *Hall* in *Suabia*. The Elector and Princes of *Saxony* were not there. Thoſe of the Branch of *Weymar* and *Koburg*, had particular Pretenſions to the Dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; and hop'd the Houſe of *Auſtria* would rather ſtand by them, than by others who were more jealous of their Greatneſs. The Elector of *Saxony* and the K. of *Denmark* ſent a joint Meſſage from *Hall* to the Competitors, deſiring 'em to ſubmit their Pretenſions to the Emperor. The Reſolves of the Meeting were kept very ſecret. The Prince of *Anhalt*, having negotiated for *Brandenburg* and *Newburg* at the Court of *France*, return'd to *Hall*, accompany'd by *Boiſiſſe*, the K.'s Ambaſſador, who openly declar'd, that his Maſter would aſſiſt him with his whole Force, and would march himſelf at the Head of a gallant Army, to oppoſe the Deſigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The *United Provinces* likewiſe promis'd to join their Troops with thoſe of *Henry*. Their

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nearneſs to the place in diſpute did oblige 'em to prevent its coming into the Hands of a Couſin or Creature of *Spain*.

There was another Accident that happen'd at the ſame time, which ſpur'd *Henry* to War, more than the noble Deſire of ſuccouring his Allies. The Prince of *Conde* having retir'd privately with his Princeſs to *Bruſſels*, was kindly entertain'd by the K. of *Spain* and the Archdukes of the *Netherlands*; nay, they promis'd to aſſiſt him in reſenting the Injuſtice *Henry* had done him. *Henry* was reſolv'd to revenge the Affronts *Phil.* II. and his Son had offer'd him, and raviſh away the Princeſs of *Conde* at any rate; accordingly he ſent ſome of his Troops towards the *Alps*. *Leſdiguieres*, a Man that from an ordinary Birth and Fortune, had gradually rais'd himſelf in the Civil Wars in *Dauphiny* and *Provence*; and was lately made a Marſhal of *France*; was order'd to head the Troops deſign'd for *Italy*, and to attack the *Milaneſe* joyntly with the Duke of *Savoy*. All theſe mighty Preparations were at firſt cover'd with the common Plea of the publick Good, the Repoſe of *Europe*, and the Juſtice of maintaining Allies in their juſt and rightful Poſſeſſions. But mean and criminal Paſſion carry'd the Preparations yet further, and ſpur'd on to extream Diligence. The Pretence was, that *Henry* was juſtly apprehenſive, that his ancient Enemies, abuſing the Eaſineſs and Diſſatisfaction of the firſt Prince of the Blood, might awaken his Ambition, by counſelling him to diſpute the Validity of the King's Marriage with *Mary de Medicis*, conſidering the Divorce was grounded on frivolous Reaſons, and the Condition of the Children he had by this ſecond Wife. But, the Truth is, 'twas the Abſence of his *Bel Ange* (ſo he call'd the Princeſs of *Conde*) that gall'd him more than any thing elſe.

So ſoon as *Henrietta Charlotte* of *Montmorenci* appear'd in the World, the good King became amorous to a fooliſh degree. The Conſtable her Father would have marry'd her to *Baſſompierre* a Gentleman of *Lorrain*, that was very much reſpected at Court, and entitl'd to a conſiderable ſhare of the King's Favor. But when the Intrigue was pretty much advanc'd, *Henry* broke it. He look'd upon *Baſſompierre*, as too likely

Memoirs of Baſſompierre.

likely a Perſon to win his Wife's Affection. The Prince of *Conde* he took to be a Man that could not ſo much incommode a Gallant. While he encourag'd him to divert himſelf at hunting, he hop'd to find the Opportunity of deceiving a Husband leſs jealous than the other would have been. In a word, *Henry* being a Man that could not content himſelf with his own Wife, deſign'd (as he plainly told *Baſſompierre*) that the Wife of his neareſt Kinſman ſhould be the Comfort and Entertainment of his Old-Age.

The Prince of Conde's *Flight.*

The Prince perceiv'd ſoon after his Marriage, that the King was deeply in Love with the Lady he had oblig'd him to marry. *Henry*'s Paſſion diſcover'd it ſelf more and more every day. Nay he could ſcarce obſerve the Rules of Decency. And, on the other hand, the new-marry'd Man is equally imprudent; he complains, makes a Noiſe, and departs from the Meaſures of Reſpect. To make him more complaiſant and tractable, the King abridges his Penſions. Notwithſtanding his ſoliciting for the Mony promis'd in Marriage, it is abſolutely refus'd. This harſh Treatment ſerves only to inflame the Reſentment of a young Man, whom the Malcontents and the King's ſecret Enemies, were conſtantly reminding of his Honour, and increaſing his Jealouſy, by repreſenting that the King was then not Maſter of his Paſſion, and might probably offer Violence. So that at laſt the Prince reſolv'd to take his Wife along with him, and retire to the *Netherlands*.

The News of his Eſcape thunder-ſtruck the old Lecher. He immediately calls for his Favourite Miniſters, in order to concert the moſt proper Meaſures on that tender Occaſion. The Chancellor of *Sileri* gravely told him, he ought to iſſue forth poſitive Proclamations againſt the Prince of *Conde*, and all that joyn'd with him. But the Proceedings of a Parliament were not a quick and effectual enough Remedy for a Lover, that thought himſelf the unhappieſt Man in the World, in being ſeparated from the Object of his Love. *Villeroy* Secretary of State advis'd the King to write to all the Ambaſſadors in foreign Courts, and order 'em to preſs the reſpective Princes to deny Reception to the Prince of *Conde*, who had made his

Eſcape

Eſcape without leave, and to return him immediately to *France*. But *Villeroy*'s Advice was not liſten'd to. 'Twas reckon'd needful to enter into a Negotiation with the Prince, into whoſe Dominions he had retir'd. But all theſe Delays did not ſuit with the Uneaſineſs and Impatience of *Henry*.

The Duke of *Sulli* being ask'd his Opinion, anſwer'd thus. *I foreſaw this accident*, ſays he; *If your Majeſty had follow'd the advice I gave you ſome days ago, namely, to put the Prince of* Conde *in the* Baſtile, *I had kept him ſafe for you. That's true*, ſays the King; *but what's to be done now? Nothing*, ſays Sulli (after having mus'd a while at the Window;) *A Fugitive Subject will be abandon'd by all the World, providing his Prince do's not ſeem troubled for the loſs of him. If ye diſcover the leaſt eagerneſs in redemanding the Prince, your Enemies will take Pleaſure to vex you, by giving him a welcome reception, and affording him Succor.* Doubtleſs this was the better Advice; but *Henry* was too amorous to give ear to it.

Preſident *Jeannin*'s Advice pleas'd him better. He propos'd that a Captain of the Guards ſhould immediatly ſet out in queſt of the Prince, with Orders to bring him back, if he could reach him. If not, to diſpatch an Expreſs to *Bruſſels*, whither the Prince would certainly flee, to require from the Archdukes the delivery of the Prince, and threaten War, in caſe of a Refuſal. Albert *and* Iſabel, continues *Jeannin*, *have no tye to the Prince; and the King of* Spain *cannot have time to write to 'em to detain him. What apppearance is there, that ſuch feeble and timorous Perſons will for ſuch a trifle draw upon themſelves the dint of all your Majeſties Arms?*

Jeannin's Words had certainly come to paſs, had not the famous *Amb. Spinola* been then with the Archdukes. *Albert* and *Iſabel* would have been frighted by the Menaces of a Warlike King, that had made ſuch great Preparations, and queſtionleſs would have comply'd with *Henry*'s Deſire. But *Spinola* repreſented to 'em with a great deal of Earneſtneſs, that they could not honeſtly deny Protection, and a ſafe Retreat, to a perſecuted Prince, who deſir'd only to skreen his Perſon and his Honour from the Inſolence he juſtly foreſaw; that at leaſt their Highneſſes ſhould not return

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any poſitive Anſwer, till they had conſulted his Catholick Majeſty about an Affair of ſuch Importance. Accordingly, when *Henry*'s Meſſage came, they anſwer'd, That Honor, and the inviolable Rules of Hoſpitality, would not allow 'em to put the Prince into his Hands againſt his Will, but their Highneſſes would take care nothing ſhould be done or tranſacted at their Court, contrary to the Reſpect and Obedience they ow'd to his Majeſty.

This honourable Denial, ſerv'd only to inflame the King's Rage, and make him more eager in demanding the Prince and Princeſs of *Conde*. Every day he ſent freſh orders to renew the Sollicitations for their Delivery. While he was gathering his Troops in his own Kingdom, the *French* then at *Bruſſels*, were endeavoring to carrry off the Princeſs; which gave ſome People ground to believe, that 'twas not much againſt her Will. The People roſe up in Arms, in order to oppoſe the deſigned Violence. Afterwards *Conde* reſolv'd to retire to *Milan*, and the Infanta took the Princeſs into her own Palace; the Archdukes having promis'd not to deliver her without the Conſent of the Prince.

The Conſtable of *Montmorenci* being ſollicited by the King, demands his Daughter; and at the ſame time all the Princeſs's neareſt Relations wrote to the Court of *Bruſſels* to the ſame effect. They pleaded, that the whole Family would have the Marriage broke. The King after all addreſs'd himſelf to the Pope, preſſing him to interpoſe his Authority for giving the Princeſs her Liberty, to the end ſhe might ſue for a Diſſolution of the Mariage. She did not love her Husband, and the Bigotry of the *Infanta* her watchful Keeper was ſo contrary to the Humor of a young Lady, bred up to all the Pleaſures of the *French* Court; that ſhe did not ſeem much averſe to the Divorce, which her Friends (at leaſt) ſeem'd to propoſe. But all theſe Intrigues were to no purpoſe. The Archdukes were inflexible, having given their Word to the Prince; and to all the Threats and Solicitations that were offer'd, gave Anſwer, that they could not deliver the Princeſs without the conſent of her Husband, who had entruſted 'em with her. 'Twas a Generous Action; but 'tis to be doubted

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whether the desire of raising Tumults in *France*, in order to overturn *Henry*'s vast Projects, did not influence 'em, at least as much, as the Love of Justice and Equity.

Henry IV. prepares to appear at the head of his Army.

The great Preparations made in *France*, and elsewhere, kept the whole World in Suspence. They did not doubt, but the King had some greater Design than that of turning Archduke *Leopold* out of the Countries of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. In the mean time the House of *Austria* seem'd to be quiet. They did not seem to entertain any Thoughts of defending themselves against that great Force that threatned 'em; whether 'twas they were aware of that Stroak that quickly chang'd the face of Affairs; or that the lazy and insensible K. of *Spain* suffer'd himself to be perswaded by an insufficient Minister, that *Henry*'s Ardour began to relent, after the first Fire was spent upon *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and some places of *Italy*. The King had 30000 Infantry, and 6000 Horse in *Champaigne*, together with 60 Pieces of Artillery, and great plenty of Mony and Ammunition. In *Dauphiny* 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, commanded by *Lesdiguieres*, were ready upon a Call to joyn the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army. The *Venetians* promis'd to declare for him, upon condition to have that part of *Milan* which lay most conveniently for them.

Henry was impatient to be at the head of his gallant Army. Sometimes he try'd the Arms he was to bear in Battel; sometimes he took pleasure in seeing the brave *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, coming to him with the best Troops of the *United Provinces*. Being disoblig'd by the Advantages the Duke of *Parma* had at the Sieges of *Paris* and *Rouan*; he hop'd to make his Reprisals upon the Marquis *Spinola*, whose Reputation began to equal that of the other. He was the only General, that the House of *Austria* had, to set in Opposition to the King.

Measures were concerted for the Government of the State during his Absence. The Queen was to be Regent, and the Duke d'*Epernon* President to the Council. 'Twas a surprizing thing to the World to see *Henry* give the charge of his Wife and Children to a Lord whom he never lov'd, and whose Fidelity he often

often ſuſpected. But after all, he could ſcarce have made a better Choice. Of three Princes of the Blood, one reſided among his Enemies, *Conti* paſs'd for a weak Man, and the Count de *Soiſſons* was diſaffected. As for the Houſe of *Guiſe*, the old Feuds, and its conſtant Engagement to the *Spaniards*, would not ſuffer him to truſt any of that Family. *Epernon* was a Man of Senſe, Courage and Honour; and Vanity to boot. Such a diſtinguiſhing Favour would engage him to act up to the Opinion the King ſhew'd of his Prudence and Fidelity.

Henry IV. *Aſſaſſinated* May 14. 1610.

Henry comply'd with the Queen's earneſt Deſires of being ſolemnly crown'd. He thought, his Complaiſance in that Point would deface the memory of the former Diſobligations occaſion'd by his Miſſes, eſpecially by the Marchioneſs of *Vernoueil*. The Queen's Coronation was celebrated at St. *Dennis*, with a great deal of Magnificence. All ſuitable Preparations were made for the Queen's ſolemn Entry into the Metropolitan of the Kingdom, when in the Evening preceding the Day appointed for that Solemnity, the King, going in his Coach to the Arſenal, to confer with the Duke *de Sulli*, Overſeer of the Revenues and great Maſter of the Ordinance; was gaſh'd by two or three cuts of a knife, one of which went thro' the Windpipe. He fell down dead upon the Duke *d'Epernon*, who ſate by him, and whom he was whiſpering in the Ear when he receiv'd the firſt Wound.

This execrable Parricide was committed *May* 14. 1610. by *Francis Ravillac* born in *Angouleme*. In the Hurry and Confuſion that attends ſuch Accidents, he might have eſcap'd, had he but hid his knife. But thinking he had done a meritorious Action, he had it ſtill in his hand, when he was catch'd. One of the King's waiting Gentlemen, and ſome Footmen would have cut him to pieces upon the Spot. But the Duke *d'Epernon* call'd to mind the Error that was formerly committed in killing (in that faſhion) the Monk that murder'd *Henry* III. and enjoyn'd 'em under the Pain of Death not to touch him. They ſecur'd his Perſon, and carry'd him to *Retz* Houſe. The two firſt days of his Impriſonment every Body had Liberty to come in and ſpeak with him; which ſeem'd

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to be a piece of deſign'd and ſuſpicious **Negligence.** Tho' the firſt Miniſters of State, might be taken up with more urgent Affairs, than that of revenging the King's Death; yet the inferior Magiſtrates had time and leiſure enough to mind their Duty in diſcovering and ſecuring the Author of that helliſh Exploit.

Henry's Widow began to wipe off her Tears, ſo ſoon as the Chancellor and *Villeroi* repreſented to her that every Moment was precious; that 'twas her Buſineſs to make the beſt uſe of the Abſence of two Princes of the Blood, and the weakneſs of a third, in declaring her ſelf Regent during her Son's Minority. The young King *Lewis* XIII. was almoſt nine years old; being born *Sept.* 27. 1601. The Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Epernon* ſeem'd the moſt proper Perſons for putting the Project in Execution. The boundleſs Ambition both of one and the other, did equally inſpire 'em with the thoughts, that in doing ſuch a ſignal piece of Service to a Princeſs that was at once a Stranger and unacquainted with the Art of Governing, they would become Maſters of the Government. Accordingly both of 'em appear at the head of a great many Men in Arms, to quaſh the Tumult occaſion'd by the unexpected Blow. *Guiſe* goes ſtraight to the Guildhall of the City; and in a ſhort time *Epernon* follows him. They joyntly exhort *Le Jai* Prevoſt of the Merchands, the Sheriffs, and Citizens there aſſembled, to continue ſteddy and loyal to the Son of him, whoſe Death they lamented, and with all poſſible ſpeed to uſe the neceſſary Precautions for preventing Diſorder and Confuſion.

The Queen plies for the Regency.

The Duke *de Sulli* left the Arſenal, ſo ſoon as he heard the News of his Maſter's Death; and was going ſtraight to the *Louvre* to do as the other Perſons of Quality, who vy'd who ſhould get there firſt to offer their Services, and ſwear Allegiance to the new King, and the Queen his Mother. Upon the way he was ſurpriz'd to meet *Baſſompierre* at the head of a great number of Gentlemen; he accoaſted 'em, deſiring them to ſwear an Oath of Fidelity to *Lewis*. *Baſſompierre* with a bold and diſdainful Ccuntenance made anſwer, *We are come hither, Sir, to require that of others; there's no Occaſion ye ſhould preach to us upon that Subject.*

CAMBRIDGE

Subject. I know not whether this Anſwer did not make the Duke ſuſpect that they were going to poſſeſs themſelves of the Arſenal and Baſtille; and that his Enemies thought to turn him out from thence. However, he return'd immediately, ſhut himſelf up in the Baſtille, took up all the Bread he could find in the Halls or Baker's Houſes, and wrote to the Duke of *Rohan* his Son-in-Law, General of the *Swiſs*, to approach to *Paris* with the 6000 *Swiſs* commanded by him in *Champaigne*. In a word, he ſeem'd to make all Preparations to ſuſtain a Siege, in caſe they offer'd to diſpoſſeſs him by Violence. Which was a piece of Conduct, liable to ſiniſtrous Conſtructions, eſpecially at a time, when Suſpicion and Diſtruſt prevail'd.

While *Sulli* is ſhut up in the Baſtille, others were carrying on their Intereſt in ſerving the Queen. The Duke of *Epernon* had plac'd the Regiment of *French* Guards upon the *Pontneuf*, and all along the Streets round the *Auguſtine*'s Convent. The Parliament was held there, becauſe the Palace was to be taken up in the Solemnities of the Queen's Coronation. The Parliament being brought together by the Care of Preſident *Seguier*, with whom the Duke had confer'd; he briskly enters the Hall with his Sword in hand; and holding it up with a vain and menacing Mien, accoſts 'em thus; *It is yet in the Scabbard; but if the Queen is not declar'd Regent before the Court break up, there will be a neceſſity of drawing it; and I foreſee that there will be ſome Blood ſhed. Some of you, Gentlemen, require time to deliberat. But your Caution is out of ſeaſon. What I now propoſe to you, may be done to day, without Danger; to morrow it will not be done without Blood.* The Duke added a few words more, to ſmooth and ſoften the violent beginning. The Members of Parliament ſtar'd upon one another. They were aſtoniſh'd with the new Propoſal of putting the Adminiſtration of the State into the Hands of the Queen, without the Aſſiſtance of the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Crown. They ſate a long time in profound Silence. At length *Harlay*, the High Preſident, anſwer'd in few words, That the Court thank'd the Duke of *Epernon* for his Zeal for the publick Good, and exhorted him to entertain and keep up thoſe Sentiments, which were

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ſo ſuitable to his Quality and Vertue.

This ſhort and general Anſwer gave the Duke Occaſion to think. He was ſo far from perſwading 'em that the placing of the Soldiers round the Convent was a Precaution for ſecuring the liberty of Votes, as he pretended; that they reckon'd that he thought to extort an Act at any Rate. He went out of the Hall, as if 'twere to leave the Members to act without Conſtraint, adding as he retir'd, *I have propos'd the beſt Expedient. There is no time to loſe.* *La Gueſſe* Attorney General, in hopes of the like Favor with the reſt, gave in his Opinion on the Queen's behalf; and the Parliament being frighted, declar'd her Regent, during the Minority of the King her Son.

When the Aſſembly broke up, the wiſer part deplor'd the misfortune of their Country (more than before) in loſing a King, whoſe Life was ſo neceſſary for 'em. *Now we are once more,* ſay ſome, *at the diſcretion of an* Italian. *What ſhall we expect from a prodigal imperious and unexperienc'd Regent. We muſt depend upon* Galigai *and* Conchini *her Husband, the Queens Confidents, and Creatures of* Spain. *What Diſorders will Avarice and Ambition occaſion at Court and in the Kingdom?* Others were ſaying; *Had the King liſten'd to the advice given him for unkenneling that Crew about him that provok'd the Queen to Jealouſy and Grudges; perhaps we ſhould not have met with this occaſion of lamenting the Death of ſo good a Prince. 'Tis well known* Conchini *and his Wife, threaten'd Violence to the King's Perſon, if he offer'd to puniſh them for their wickedneſs. Queſtionleſs, Perſons of that ſtamp are capable of ſuborning an Aſſaſſin.*

The next day all was quiet at *Paris*. *Guiſe* had ſo manag'd and humor'd *Sulli*, that he came along with him to the *Louvre* to pay his Devoirs to the King and Queen. *Villeroi* had diſpos'd 'em to give him an agreeable Reception. *Villeroi* quickly inſinuated to the new Regent, that her Husbands ancient Miniſters, were beſt acquainted with the State of Affairs at home and abroad, and that 'twas not covenient to make any change in the Council. The Secretary of State was afraid that the Diſgrace of the Superintendant might be of dangerous Conſequence for others. The Example might have been made uſe of againſt *Villeroi* himſelf. *Sulli* makes a ſtudi-

Mem. de la Regence de Mar. de Med.

ed Harangue to the Queen. Being perſwaded that the Queen was always againſt a War with *Spain*, and that ſhe had a Deſign to keep in with thoſe whom her Husband had a mind to humble, he aſſur'd her Majeſty, that he had indeavor'd to diſſwade the late King from his great deſigns. The Duke of *Vendoſme* being then preſent, *Sulli* took him to Witneſs of what he had ſaid to the Father upon that Head in the Son's Preſence. A Baſe Courtier! That ſacrific'd already his Benefactor's Reputation to his own Intereſt.

The Provinces follow'd the example of the Metropolitan. Catholicks and Proteſtants equally ſubmitted themſelves to *Mary*'s Regency. The Armies were not leſs pliable. The Duke of *Rohan*, upon his Father-in-Law his Letters, had advanc'd the *Swiſs* Regiments within a days Journey of *Paris*: But *Sulli* being ſatisfied by the Reception he had from the Queen, preſently countermanded 'em. *Gonzague* Duke of *Nevers*, Commander of the Army in *Champaigne*, adminiſtred the Oath to all the Officers; and that in *Dauphiny* was kept in due order by *Leſdiguieres*. The news of the young King's going up to the Parliament next day after *Henry*'s Death, and their ſolemn confirmation of *Mary*'s Regency, contributed much to eſtabliſh a perfect tranquility in the Remoter Provinces.

Lewis XIII *his firſt appearance in Parliament.*

The Conſtable, together with the Peers of the Realm, and the Officers of the Crown, were preſent in the Parliament. The King came there, follow'd by his Mother, the Prince of *Conti*, and Count *Enghien* Son to *Soiſſons*, who had retir'd to the Country, in a pet, for his Wife's being denied ſome Mark of Diſtinction at the Coronation of the Queen. As ſoon as they were all ſeated, ſhe began to make a premeditated Speech. But ſhe had ſcarce utter'd three or four Words, when a Flood of Tears oblig'd her to break off. 'Twas doubted whether Grief or Joy was the occaſion of 'em, and every one made their Conſtructions of it at pleaſure. After ſome Groans, whether affected or ſincere, ſhe recover'd her Speech. *I have brought you*, ſays ſhe, *my Son, to deſire you all to take care of him according to your obligations. I conjure you ſo to do by the memory of his Father, by the Love ye owe to your ſelves, and by the Zeal ye profeſs for the good of your Country. I'll order him to*

follow

follow your Advice in governing the State. 'Tis your part to give him such as is good and proper. Then the Queen step'd down to the Bar, pretending to retire, to give 'em free liberty to consider again of the Regency. The Princes, Lords and Magistrates were convinc'd that she did it more out of Ceremony than Reality; so they desir'd her to come back to her Place. *Mary* being already well vers'd in the Art of dissembling, suffer'd 'em to press her a long time; in so much that the Sollicitations she requir'd seem'd to offer violence to her Modesty and Grief.

Young *Lewis* recited the Harangue prepar'd for him pretty well. They had not omitted to put in, that the new King would follow the Advice of his Parliament. That's a sort of Language that long Custom has confirm'd in the beginning of a Minority. As soon as their Authority is establish'd, they remember it no more. Our Eyes can testifie, that *Lewis* XIII. has listen'd too much to the base Parasites, that advis'd him to sink the Authority of a Society, establish'd for a Bridle to absolute Authority, upon which the Preservation of *France* depended. That was the Notion People had of it in the time of *Lewis* XII. But now 'tis become seditious Discourse.

Scissel Hist. Louis XII. & de la Monarch. de France, p. 1. c. 8.

The Chancellor represented, that the late King had oftner than once discover'd his Mind, *viz.* that, pursuant to other Precedents, the Queen his Wife should have the Administration, in case he died in his Son's Minority. Next to him the High President spoke. He exhorted the young Prince to make himself worthy to be call'd the Father of his Countrey; like to *Lewis* XII. whose Throne he now sate upon; and to observe his Instructions and Example, as they are transmitted to Posterity. *Servin*, Advocate General, did the same; and, to conclude the matter, the Act pass'd the Day before for the Queen's Regency, was confirm'd by the King, sitting on the place of Justice, and sent to the other Parliaments, and publish'd throughout the Kingdom. The Harangues of the two Magistrates last mention'd would have been reckon'd worthy of their Gravity and Reputation, had they not stuff'd 'em with such excessive Panegyricks upon a Princess, that never deserv'd a moderate Praise.

After the Paſſing of the New Act the King returns with loud Acclamations from the People, who always admire what ſtrikes their Senſes moſt. Every body wiſh'd a long Proſperity to the Son of *Henry*, in demanding the Puniſhment of the Accomplices concern'd in his Father's Death. Happy he! if the Wiſhes of his Subjects could have procur'd to him the Qualities that were needful, in order to the Imitation of the few good Kings that went before him. But the want of Natural Parts, and the Mother's Care to keep him out of the Hands of a good Governour, made him go without 'em.

The Intrigues of the Court in the beginning of the Regency.

The Count of *Soiſſons* was mightily ſurpriz'd to find that all was done in his Abſence. He came to *Paris*, accompany'd with Five Hundred Gentlemen. To appeaſe his Grudge, they gave him the Government of *Normandy*. Afterwards the Regent rewarded thoſe who ſerv'd her well. In the former Reign the Penſions of the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorrain* were very moderate. *Sulli* indeavouring the Preferment of the greateſt Enemies of his Religion, got 'em advanc'd to 100000 Livres. The Duke of *Guiſe* got 200000 Crowns to pay off his Debts; and the Queen promis'd to favour him in the Deſign he had of marrying *Joieuſe*'s Heireſs, Widow to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, of whom ſhe had only one Daughter. *Epernon* was poſſeſs'd of ſo great an Eſtate, and ſo many good places, that he ſeem'd to be above all the Gratuities of the Court. He was rewarded according to his Humour. The Court gave him a great deal of Honour, and Marks of a particular Diſtinction. The Queen lodg'd him in the *Louvre*. *I cannot*, ſays ſhe, *think my ſelf ſafe, if he be not there.* The Secretaries made him privy to all Diſpatches. In a word, he ſeem'd to be in the way of making himſelf as powerful and formidable, as he was in the Reign of poor *Henry* III.

The Count of *Soiſſons* courted his Friendſhip very earneſtly. He had a great many Reaſons, obliging him to make the firſt Advances. He had a mind to fortifie his Intereſt againſt the Prince of *Conde*, whom they had invited to return and take his place at Court. The Princeſs of *Montpenſier* was Daughter to a Niece of *Epernon*. The Count thought to joyn the vaſt

Riches

Riches of that Family to his own, by marrying his Son to the Heireſs. The Buſineſs could not be concluded without the Uncle's Conſent. In fine, *Soiſſons* mortally hated *Sulli*. He hop'd that *Epernon* being equally provok'd by that Miniſters bad Offices with the late King, would joyn with him againſt their common Enemy. The Duke did not refuſe the Friendſhip of a Prince of the Blood; but he would not engage to ſerve him in all his Projects. The Count was not at all diſhearten'd; but propos'd to his new Friend that they ſhould go together and ſtab the Duke *de Sulli* in the *Louvre*; a piece of Wickedneſs unworthy not only of a Prince, but of the meaneſt of Men. The Propoſal ſtunn'd the Lord, who valued himſelf upon Honour and Integrity. *Epernon* anſwer'd as civilly as he could, that his Place would not allow him to ſuffer ſuch a Violence in the King's own Houſe. The Count took the Denial very ill. However, the deſire of raiſing himſelf above *Conde*, who uſurp'd a Rank that truly belong'd to *Epernon*, made him conceal his Grudge. After this, ſhould *Epernon* value the Friendſhip of a Man that diſcover'd ſuch a wicked heart? Let a Prince be never ſo much diſtinguiſh'd by his Birth and Credit, if he be capable of ſuch a helliſh Crime, he deſerves nothing but Hatred and Contempt.

When the Queſtion came to be put about forming the Queen's Council, Jealouſies reviv'd, and Intrigues were doubled. Princes of the Blood did juſtly alledge, they had a Right to ſit in it by Birth. The Conſtable of *Montmorenci* and the Cardinal *Joyeuſe* were of Opinion that they could not be excluded. Thoſe of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, being aſſur'd of the Queen's Affection, hop'd to raiſe themſelves. And deſpair'd not at leaſt, to come up with the Princes of the Blood; tho' they were too weak to obtain the Superiority they once had over the Houſe of *Bourbon*. But there was one great Obſtacle againſt the Deſign of getting into the Council. Two Lords of the ſame Family could not have place there. The Duke of *Guiſe* was the Ancienteſt Lord. But Age and Experience intitl'd the Duke of *Mayenne* his Uncle to a Preference. Some Years before when *Harry* was dange-

rouſly ill he form'd a Council, and nominated this Lord as a Member; who was very well reconcil'd to him, and after that gave him ſeveral Proofs of his inviolable Fidelity. This was a favourable Circumſtance upon his ſide. The Duke of *Nevers* alſo demanded Admiſſion, and pleaded a Preference to the *Guiſe*'s. So that new Difficulties ſtarted up on all Hands.

The Emulation went ſo high between *Bouillon* and *Epernon*, that it was impoſſible for one to be a Member excluding the other. The latter was very conſiderable by his Poſt of Collonel General to the Foot, and by his rich Settlements: And the Queen was afraid to diſoblige a brave and potent Man, that had ſerv'd her very handſomly. *Bouillon* was a Man of a great Spirit, a penetrating and comprehenſive Judgment, ſtrong Alliances, and a continu'd Intelligence with foreign Princes. The Sovereignty of *Sedan* entitl'd him to a conſiderable Character both at home and abroad. No Man had more Intereſt among the *French* Proteſtants than he. The late King was afraid of him. He knew how to check his turbulent and ambitious Temper; but did not puſh it to an Extremity. So that during the Minority he was capable of doing a great deal of Good, if he made uſe of his Knowledge; and a great deal of Harm, if he abandon'd himſelf to his Paſſions. There were yet other Lords, whoſe Birth gave 'em Pretenſions to be Members of the Council; but they were of that Age in which Perſons of Quality are more amus'd with Pleaſures, than any deſire of embarking into State-Affairs. Such were the Duke of *Vendome*, the Grand Prior of *France*, both natural Sons of *Henry*; the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Count of *S. Paul*, a Cadet of the ſame Family.

The Chancellor of *Silleri*, the Duke of *Sulli*, *Villeroy*, and Preſident *Jeannins*, were pleas'd to ſee all theſe Concurrences. The whole Management of Affairs was in their Hands in the Queen's Name. Theſe Miniſters were the firſt that adviſ'd her to diſoblige no body, before the firſt Prince of the Blood arriv'd; and to receive into the Council all the great Lords that demanded Admiſſion. The greater their Number were, the particular Members would have leſs

Intereſt

Intereſt and Authority; In the mean time the Miniſters by turns took care to diſcourſe the Regent. They took care to prepare the Affairs that were to be propos'd, to make a ſhew of Buſineſs for them when they met. They foreſaw they would quickly run into Confuſion; ſome would be ſick on't of their own accord, and the others would be eaſily ſent out of the way under the Pretence of returning to their Poſts or Governments.

The Proſecution of Ravailliac.

While the Count was buſy'd in theſe Intrigues, the Parliament was taken up in proſecuting *Ravaillac*. The High Preſident aſſiſted by another and two Councellors, examin'd him often. The moſt that can be drawn from the Interrogatories left us, is, that *Ravaillac* was a Fanatic, who upon ſome Stories he had heard, imagin'd the King was going to make War with the Pope, and did not make it his Buſineſs to convert the *Huguenots*. Whereupon he took up a Reſolution of killing a Prince that he reckon'd an unjuſt Tyrant. In ſome Sermons where the wretched Preachers up of the League, juſtify'd *James Clement*, he had met with ſuch things as riveted in him the thought, that every private Subject may kill his Prince, if he be an Enemy to his Holineſs. He told the Judges, that to make War againſt the Pope, is to make War againſt God, becauſe the Pope is God, and God is the Pope. This requires Pity. But methinks the Princes who, I don't know by what Politicks, ſubject themſelves to the Pope, and pin their Life upon ſuch odd Imaginations, are more worthy of Pity, than the Aſſaſſins ſeduc'd by Emiſſaries from the Court of *Rome*. After the Attempt of *John Chaſtell*, *Henry* always dreaded the Leagues Knife. 'Twas the Deſire of ſecuring himſelf from them that made him call back thoſe Perſons who have found the Secret of rendring themſelves formidable to Sovereigns. He loaded the Jeſuits with freſh Favours. But, had not he done better both for the Safety of his Life, and the Good of his Kingdom, in liſt'ning to the wiſe Remonſtrances of Preſident *Harlai*?

Ravaillac, tho' other ways ignorant, was ſo well vers'd in maintaining that Opinion of the Society of Jeſuits, that 'twas eaſy to perceive ſome People had taken a great

great deal of care to inſtruct him. However, either in complyance with the advice of an Eccleſiaſtick, that call'd himſelf his Friend, and in *Retz-houſe* counſel'd him not to accuſe good People; or elſe becauſe the horrible deſign was form'd within himſelf; he conſtantly averr'd to his laſt Gaſp, that no Man, neither Frenchman nor Forreigner, had puſh'd him on, in any manner whatſoever, to murder a Prince that had never done him harm, and whoſe Death, tho' unreſented, could do him no good. He was condemn'd to Puniſhment, as provided by the Laws of *France* in the like Parricides; and the Sentence was put in execution, *May* 27.

Mariana's *Doctrine condemn'd.*

The Proceedings of the Parliament upon the very ſame day that *Ravaillac* died, are a convincing Proof that they were peſwaded, that the Writings and Sermons of ſome Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, engag'd in the League, and perverted by the Books which the Jeſuits publiſh'd, in order to revive the precious Doctrine that the Society of *Paris* condemn'd in the Year 1414, the Sentence being afterwards confirm'd by the Council of *Conſtance*; they were perſwaded, I ſay, that thoſe Books and Sermons had thruſt the Knife into the Breaſt of *Henry* and his Predeceſſour. The Parliament order'd, that the Faculty of *Paris* ſhould aſſemble with ſpeed to confirm a-new the ancient Cenſure authoriz'd by the Councel of *Conſtance* againſt thoſe who teach, that a private Subject may, and in Conſcience ought, to kill any Tyrant whatſoever, and attack him by all Means poſſible, and that ſuch an Action is not at all contrary to the Oath of Fidelity, which Vaſſals and Subjects take to their Sovereign. The Doctors obey'd their Orders. *June* 10. the Parliament paſs'd another Act condemning a Book, *De Rege & Regis Inſtitutione*, written by *Mariana*, a Jeſuit, to be burnt by the common Hangman; as containing ſeveral execrable Blaſphemies againſt *Henry* III. and againſt the Perſons of Kings and Sovereign Princes.

The Jeſuits have always had their Partizans and their Adverſaries: The former would fain endeavour to clear 'em, but the latter do attack 'em with a great deal of Zeal and Vehemency. The Abbot *Dubois* preaching at S. *Euſtache* in *Paris*, undertook, in one of his Sermons, to refute *Mariana*'s Advances. By a lively ſort

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of Rhetorical Figure, he addreſſed himſelf to the good Fathers, exhorting them earneſtly to take care that there be nothing contain'd in the Books publiſh'd in the Name of the Society, and by the Approbation of their Superiors, that might offend *France*; unleſs the Jeſuits had a mind to expoſe themſelves to ſuch Dangers, as all their Prudence, fortified by the Authority of their Confidents, was not able to avoid. The Sermon made a ſenſible Impreſſion upon the Spirits of the Audience, ſo that they were animated with an extraordinary Zeal againſt the Society.

The Society complain'd to the Queen of the Abbot's Sermon. The matter was referr'd to the Biſhop of *Paris*. *Du Bois* proteſted before that Prelate, that he meant no harm to that Society. *The love of Truth*, ſaid he, *the Grief occaſion'd by the King's Death, the juſt Fears that all Chriſtians ought to entertain of the fatal Effects of* Mariana's *Doctrine. 'Twas the ſenſe of ſuch reaſonable Principles that made me ſpeak as I did.* The Biſhop had nothing to reply: He only exhorted him to live in a good Underſtanding with the Servants of God, eſpecially with the Jeſuits. But it had been more proper for him to perſwade the Fathers to pardon the Injury they thought they had receiv'd. I do not know how it came to paſs that the Abbot was ſo imprudent as to go to *Rome* the next Year: But there they did not want a Pretext to ſhut him up in cloſe Priſon.

The Patience of Father *Coton*, Confeſſor to the late King, was not Proof againſt the general Outrage that prevailed againſt his Brethren. He reſolved to write, and clear the Society from the Charge occaſioned by *Mariana*'s Books. His wiſe and ſagacious Friends adviſ'd him to be ſilent, for fear of miſtaking in ſuch a tender Point. 'Twas ſtrange that a Man who knew the World, and did not want Conduct, would not comply with ſo good Advice. He wrote a long Letter, addreſs'd to the Queen, to perſwade the World that *Mariana* was a particular Man diſown'd by the Society. It came to paſs according as the Jeſuit's Friends had foretold. Several Writings were immediately publiſhed againſt *Coton*'s Letter. They branded it, as being equivocal, and full of groſs Artifices. The Story

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of the Diſowning was reckon'd forc'd, and form'd for the Neceſſity of the Times. Some were ſo ill-natur'd as to expreſs themſelves thus: *He comes a little too late; but perhaps it will not be uſeleſs to the Children of him, whom ſuch a Doctrine has laid in his Grave.*

Certainly Father *Coton*'s Heads of Defence were very weak and unadvis'd. What he advanc'd upon the Complaints of his Provincial Congregation held at *Paris*, and General *Aquaviva*'s Anſwer, favour'd the Society's Accuſers. The French Jeſuits had requir'd their Superintendant to ſtop the Licenſe, and ſuppreſs the Books of ſome Authors that wrote to the Diſadvantage of *France*. Now the Reverend Fathers Anſwer is this, *We approve the Judgment and Care of your Congregation; and are ſorry you did not perceive the Error, till after the Publication of theſe Books. We have order'd 'em to be corrected, and will take care hereafter that no ſuch thing ſhall happen.* This is a very cold and equivocal Cenſure for an Opinion that countenances the murdering of Kings and Sovereigns. It preſents us with ſome ſtrokes of their Prudence; but does not formally diſown that execrable Doctrine, the Defenders of which ought to undergo Exemplary Puniſhment.

One can ſcarce be ſo ſimple as to believe that the Superiors of the Society were not aware of what *Mariana* and ſuch Authors wrote before the Publication of their Works. 'Tis well known what are the Society's Statutes, with Reference to the Impreſſions of Books. 'Tis to no purpoſe for *Coton* to cite ſome Jeſuit Authors of a contrary Opinion to *Mariana*. It were a very extraordinary Caſe, if among ſo many Learned Men, there were not one to be found who maintains, That Murder is abſolutely forbidden by the Law of God. Since the Society licens'd the Impreſſion of thoſe Books of *Mariana*, and others, it makes good the Charge, that they have either approv'd 'em, or at leaſt did not think 'em worthy of Condemnation. With them thoſe Writers paſs'd for grave Authors. But, according to the Principles of *Probability*, which that Company either hatch'd or adopted in all their Extent, *James Clement* had *Mariana*'s Authority to kill *Henry* III. And his Succeſſor might have been kill'd with a ſafe Conſcience, at the time when *Sixtus* V. and

Gregory

Gregory XIV. pour'd forth againſt him all the Thunder of the Vatican.

About the time of *Henry*'s Interment, the Preachers of *Paris* rail'd violently againſt the Jeſuits. The Ceremony was obſerv'd with all the uſual Pomp. His Heart was carried to the Jeſuits Colledge founded by himſelf at *la Fleche* in *Anjou*. He had order'd it ſhould be ſo before his Death. There *Coton* made a Funeral Oration. His Body was firſt carried to the Cathedral of *Paris*, and from thence convey'd to the common *Burial-place* of the Kings of *France*. The Biſhop of *Aire* pronounc'd a Pannegyrick upon him at *Notre Dame*, and the Biſhop of *Angers* did the ſame at S. *Dennis*. Tho' in the Eyes of the World *Henry* might have deſerv'd to be ſirnam'd *the Great*; yet his Vertues and Actions were not ſo very worthy, as that the Catholick Church ſhould interrupt her Myſteries, to give way for Elogies to be deliver'd in a Chair, that's conſecrated to the preaching of Truth. *The Burial of* Henry IV.

What Chriſtian praiſe could they invent of a Prince that died under ſeveral Criminal Habits, juſt when he was upon the point of ſetting the World on Fire, and cauſing ſo great an effuſion of Blood, in order to gratifie his Ambition, to revenge himſelf of Enemies that were not then in a Condition to hurt him; and to make the glorious repriſal of a Princeſs, whom her Husband would have ſhelter'd from the Attacks and Solicitations of a King, tranſported with Love, to the loſs of his Senſe and Reaſon? His pretended Converſion was a fitter Subject for the exerciſe of Eloquence to a Prophane than to a Chriſtian Orator. The Triumph they made of ſo important a Conqueſt, ſerv'd to cover a Life full of Crimes, and an impenitent Death. But after all, were they ever aſſur'd that *Henry* was a good Catholick? We leave that to God himſelf. Suppoſing that Prince could eaſily have ſatisfied his Conſcience upon the ſcore of Religion, his irregular Life will fetch but little Honor to a Communion, that out of Policy he ſeem'd to embrace. Theſe flattering Biſhops, that cry'd him up after his Death, never had the courage to check him for his Debaucheries, or give him publick notice of the Truth; as the Proteſtant Miniſters did before he abandon'd their Communion.

After

Henry's *good and bad Qualities.*

After his Funeral, Men of Senſe ſpoke differently of his Qualities and Actions. Some admir'd his good Fortune in his Acceſſion to a Crown, from ſo remote a degree, that many People doubted if the right of Succeſſion could reach it. They cry'd up his Valor in the Field, his Intrepidity upon the moſt hazardous Occaſions, his Experience and Conduct in commanding an Army, his Moderation in Proſperity, his Conſtancy in Adverſity, his Clemency to his Enemies, his Affability, his Affection to his Subjects, his Prudence in not puſhing 'em to extremities, but leaving them to come to themſelves after they have gone out of the way, and, in fine, the ſweetneſs with which he receiv'd all their Remonſtrances.

Others that were quicker ſighted, ſaid, there was always more Raſhneſs than Conduct in *Henry*'s Bravery; and that he expoſs'd himſelf to danger without neceſſity; that he wanted Conduct and Foreſight on ſeveral Occaſions; that if he had met with a more active Enemy, than the Duke of *Mayenne*, he had been oblig'd to flee to *England* ſoon after the Death of his Predeceſſor; that the Heads of the League were more rewarded than thoſe who ſerv'd him with Conſtancy and Fidelity; that inſtead of being liberal, he was prodigal to thoſe who did not deſerve his Bounty; that he gave without meaſure to his Miſtriſſes, and thoſe who ſerv'd him in his Pleaſures; that he had an uncontroulable itch for Gaming, and gave proof of an Avarice unworthy of a great Prince; that in pretending to relieve his People, he brought new impoſts upon 'em: and that he had introduc'd a diſorderly Sale of Places in the State.

Thoſe who were ill-natur'd did not ſpare his Domeſtick Circumſtances. They cry'd out againſt him for turning off Queen *Margaret* in a gallantiſh Humor. *Being more inſenſible*, ſaid they, *than the Emperor* Claudian, *he ſuffer'd this new* Meſſalina *to be acknowledg'd for his lawful Wife, and to diſhonour him publickly. Would he at his own coſt have taught thoſe whoſe Wives he debauch'd to become eaſy Husbands?* They ſpoke with indignation of his Conduct in attempting to marry *Gabriele d' Etrees*, and his Ungratitude to *Harlai de Sanci*, whom he remov'd from all his Places, becauſe he had freely told him his Thoughts of ſuch a ſcandalous Marriage. They

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rally'd upon him for his Promiſe of Marriage given in Writing to the Marchioneſs of *Vernueil*, in caſe ſhe had a Boy to him in a Years time; for his continual Wranglings with the Queen, whoſe Jealouſie rais'd ſuch ridiculous Clamors; for his eaſineſs in ſuffering the Inſolence of *Vernueil*, who ſpoke of the Queen with the laſt Contempt. So true 'tis, the more ſenſible part of Mankind do not meaſure the Solidity of a Prince's Merit by the ſtudied Panegyricks made upon him, by the Titles confer'd upon him by Flattery, by Statues rear'd up for him, or magnificent Inſcriptions on Marble or Braſs.

The Council reſolves to aſſiſt Juliers

Some time before *Henry* was interr'd, the Regent's privy Council took into Conſideration the Army that *Henry* had left ſtanding, the Maintenance whereof was very chargeable. They were of different Opinions. Some ſaid, *'Tis not a proper Seaſon now to give umbrage to the Houſe of* Auſtria. *A Powerful and Cunning Enemy will find ways to imbroil the State. His Catholick Majeſty did propoſe to the late King a double Marriage of the* Infanta *with the Dauphin, and of the Prince of* Spain *with the eldeſt Daughter of* France. *We muſt disband thoſe Troops that create a Jealouſy to the* Spaniard, *and reſume the Negotiation of the two Marriages, in order to a ſtrong Alliance with him.* This was *Mary*'s earneſt deſire. Being prepoſſeſs'd by her *Italian* Confidents whom the Court of *Madrid* had corrupted, ſhe laid down this Concluſion, that the eſtabliſhment of her Authority depended on a good underſtanding with the Pope and King of *Spain*.

The King of *Spain* had made ſome advances before *Henry*'s Death, towards this double Alliance, which *Paul* V. had ſet on foot. The Court of *Rome* hop'd to find their Account in it. They were perſwaded, that 'twas impoſſible to ruin the Proteſtants, without the Concurrence of the two Crowns; and upon that Account imploy'd all their Intereſt to form a ſtrict Alliance between the two Rival States. While the one deſtroy'd the Proteſtants in *Germany* and the Low Countries; they projected that the other ſhould make it his buſineſs to extirpate the Huguenots in *France*. They were not much concern'd about the King of great *Britain*, and the two Northern Crowns. The firſt, they thought, might be eaſily gain'd. The *Swede* was di-

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verted by the King of *Poland* indeavoring to recover the Country, that he claim'd a Title to. *Denmark* was uncapable to do any thing by its ſelf; beſides, they did not doubt but he would ſide with thoſe whom *James* I. his Brother-in-Law countenanc'd.

This was the Project of the Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*. But *Henry* was too well acquainted with his own and *Europe's* Intereſt to be catch'd in that Snare. He was ſo far from approving the double Marriage, that he promis'd his eldeſt Daughter to the Prince of *Piemont*, and ſent *Baſſompierre* to *Lorrain* to treat with the Duke, who had no Male Children, about the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter with the *Dauphin* of *France*. However, as ſoon as *Henry* dy'd, the Court of *Rome* reviv'd the Negotiation of the Alliance of the two Crowns by a double Marriage. The Regent was violently for it; and the ſecret Penſioners of *Spain* puſh'd it on with all their might in the Council of *France*.

The Chancellor was one of thoſe who approv'd it. But he had reaſon to thwart thoſe that propos'd the ſpeedy disbanding of the Army. *What*, ſays he, *would we make the World believe already, That we tremble before the K. of* Spain? *Or, would we create a Diſtruſt in our beſt Allies? They'll believe that we're about to abandon 'em. Who after that will ever court an Alliance with our Crown? My Opinion is, That the Army in* Champaigne *ſhould be kept up, and Aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent to* Juliers *to expel the Archduke* Leopold. *Indeed the Army in* Dauphiny *will give the* Spaniards *more Jealouſy; a Proteſtant Marſhal of* France *commands it. For theſe two Reaſons it ought to be disbanded. But 'tis not prudential to disband 'em entirely before the Prince return; before we have a certain Account of the diſpoſition of the Court of* Spain, *before the perfect Eſtabliſhment of the King and Regent's Authority.*

This ſeem'd to be the beſt Advice. But a new Difficulty aroſe about the Choice of a General to be at the Head of the Detachment ſent to *Cleves* and *Juliers*. *Villeroi* had Pretenſions to the Poſt, and hop'd to obtain it. However the Marſhal *de Chatre* was prefer'd to him. They had no mind to entruſt a ſuſpected and able Proteſtant General, with the Command

mand of an Army that was to joyn Prince *Maurice*, his Friends, and Brother-in-Law. *Bouillon* made a great Noiſe. *What! muſt my Religion*, ſays he, for ever exclude me from the Preferments due to my Rank and good Services? As ſoon as the Prince, my Friend and Ally ſhall return, we'll form a Party in Oppoſition to the new Triumvirat of the Count of *Soiſſons*, the Duke of *Epernon*, and Cardinal *Joieuſe*. Theſe Men would carry all before 'em. 1610.

In Order to prevent the bad Offices of the diſaffected Princes or Lords in cauſing an Inſurrection; they took care to pleaſe every Body. 54 Edicts were revok'd for eaſing the People of the Charge; ſeveral Commiſſions ſuperſeded, and the Price of Salt ſunk a fourth Part. The Jealouſy of the Proteſtants was appeas'd by a Proclamation confirming the Edict of *Nants*; tho' at the ſame time Notice was given to the young King that ſuch a Formality was not neceſſary for an irrevocable and perpetual Law. Thoſe of their Party that had the moſt creditable Character, were bought off by Preſents. The Queen ſent word to *du Pleſſis Mornay*, that he might ask whatever he thought moſt convenient for him, and ſhe would willingly grant it. But the wiſe and religious Gentleman reply'd, *It ſhall never be upbraided to me, that I took advantage of my Country's Misfortunes, or made it my Buſineſs to extort any thing from a King under Age, and an afflicted Mother. If the Queen will pleaſe to give Orders for the Payment of the Debt due to me ſo long ago, I'll look upon it as a new Engagement.* *Edicts Revok'd. A Declaration on the Proteſtants behalf.*

Affairs were in this Condition, when the Prince of *Conde* thought of returning to *France*. As ſoon as the Count of *Fuentes* receiv'd Advice of *Henry*'s Death, he employ'd all his Wits in perſwading the Prince, not to neglect ſo fair an Opportunity of making himſelf King. The crafty *Spaniard* addreſs'd himſelf to him thus: *Your Couſin's Divorce from* Margaret, *and his Marriage with* Mary de Medicis, *are contrary to all Divine and Eccleſiaſtick Laws. Would you throw away a Crown that rightfully belongs to you? Take courage, and make good your Right; ye ſhall not want either Men or Mony. I offer you all the Force of the King my Maſter. Tho' the Authority of the Holy See be intereſs'd in* Henry's Conde *returns.*

1610. *Divorce, we'll find ways of obliging* Paul V. *to diſanul what his Predeceſſor did. We want not Precedents of that Nature.* *Fuentes* order'd the Project to be laid before the Pope: But he rejected it. Neither did *Conde* approve of it; either becauſe he took the Deſign to be chimerical; or becauſe he remember'd the Proſecution of *Charlotte de la Trimoville* his Mother, and durſt not offer to diſpute the Right of the Children of a King, that had employ'd all his Authority to aſcertain his own, which many People doubted. He ſet out from *Milan* for *Bruſſels* in order to take up his Princeſs. When he arriv'd there, the *Spaniards* made the ſame Offer, by the Nuncio *Bentivoglio*. But he continu'd ſteddy in his Reſolution of contenting himſelf with the Rank he was then in, and did not ſuffer himſelf to be inveigled by a Sham-Offer.

Conde *arrives at* Paris.

The Princes of *Lorrain*, the Marſhal *Bouillon*, and the Duke *de Sulli* went to meet him at *Senlis*. They were juſt forming a new Party, and the Regent was jealous of 'em. The Count of *Soiſſons*, the Duke of *Epernon*, and Cardinal *Joieuſe*, were afraid of being baniſh'd the Court, and began to defend themſelves. *Mary* was afraid for her ſelf; and willingly liſten'd to the Counſel given her, for making the *Pariſians* riſe up in Arms. They choos'd new Captains, who took the Oaths to the Queen in the Town-houſe. In leſs than eight days, they rais'd above 100000 Men. In the mean time *Conde* makes his Entry into *Paris*, accompany'd by 1500 Gentlemen. He had receiv'd Advice, that, upon the Solicitation of the Count of *Soiſſons*, the Regent was reſolv'd to ſecure him and Marſhal *Bouillon*. But the good Reception he met with from their Majeſties, diſpers'd the Suſpicion.

Conde's *Party, and* Soiſſon's *Party.*

He forthwith declar'd he had no mind to diſpute the Regency which the Queen was poſſeſs'd of. However, his frequent Interviews with the Heads of his Party, ſometimes at *Mayenne* Houſe, and ſometimes at the Arſenal, occaſion'd a Jealouſy. The Duke of *Sulli* was on his ſide, and he being Maſter of the Ordnance, and of the Mony which the late King had put up in the *Baſtile*, was in a Capacity to furniſh *Conde* with Supplies for a conſiderable Enterprize. But the Prince had not the Heart to move; either becauſe the Citi-

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zens being up in Arms had broke his Meaſures, or becauſe the *Guiſe*'s, that ſided with him, had an Eye upon their own Intereſt, more than the Grandeur of a Prince that was naturally an Enemy to their Family. And accordingly they had given the Queen Notice under-hand, that they had no other view in joyning in with *Conde*, but that of ſcreening themſelves from the ill Deſigns of *Soiſſons*, that ſought to humble 'em; and that, if ever he declar'd againſt her Majeſty, they would immediately part from him. 1610.

Had *Conde* follow'd *Bouillon*'s Advice, he might have rid himſelf of the *Guiſe*'s, and made the Queen, *Soiſſons*, and all the oppoſite Party, tremble for fear of him. 'Twas, that he ſhould return to the Reform'd Church, that *Henry* had forc'd him to forſake; and declare himſelf Protector of the Proteſtants in *France*. Conſidering the Advantages he had to ſupport him, namely, *Bouillon*'s Experience and Intereſt, the Mony that *Sulli* could furniſh him with from the *Baſtille*, the large Number of the *Swiſs* that *Rohan* their Collonel General would bring over to him, together with the Proteſtant Nobility that would devote themſelves to him, and the many well fortify'd Towns he would be Maſter of: I ſay, the firſt Prince of the Blood, buoy'd up by ſuch mighty Advantages, might have caſt the Authority of the Regent, and render'd himſelf redoubted both at home and abroad. But he never was for any Buſineſs, bating that for enriching himſelf, like an avaricious litigious *Champaigne* Gentleman; or diſcourſing upon a Point of Law, and diſcuſſing a Theological School Queſtion. They put it into his Head to ask the Reverſion of a Conſtable's Dignity, but he had the Mortification to be put off with a Denial. 'Twas too great a Happineſs for him, that the Queen bought him *Gondi* Houſe, now *Conde* Houſe.

Bouillon *endeavours the Union of the two Parties.*

As ſoon as *Bouillon* perceiv'd that the Prince had neither Spirit nor Courage enough to follow the Steps of his Predeceſſors; he reſolv'd to get in with the Court. He would willingly have appear'd at the head of the Proteſtants himſelf; and had entertain'd the ſame thought in the former Reign. But the Dukes of *Sulli* and *Rohan*, the Marſhal *Leſdiguieres*, and ſeveral other conſiderable Perſons in that Party, were

1610. not his Friends. So, he went and made freſh Proteſtations of his Stedfaſtneſs to their Majeſty's Service. He propos'd to the Marquis *de Coeuvres* the Reconciliation of the two Princes. *I'll engage*, ſays he, *to manage* Conde, *if you'll negotiate the matter with* Soiſſons, *who, I know, has a reſpect for you. While the Princes and great Lords are divided among themſelves*, Silleri, Villeroi, *and* Jeannin *are Maſters of the Government. Let us reunite the two oppoſite Parties, without infringing the Queen's Authority. That's the only way to remove the Miniſters that are overgrown in Power, and to reduce others to the Sphere of their places.*

The Queen oppoſes the Re-union.

Soiſſons was affraid, all this might be an Artifice of the Marſhal's. He thought with himſelf, that if his faction approv'd of *Bouillon*'s Propoſal, he would give the Queen notice of it, whereupon ſhe would be diſtruſtful of the Count and his Friends. Cardinal *Joieuſe* was of another Mind. Perhaps he ſincerely ſought the Welfare and Peace of the State. The Cardinal obtain'd *Soiſſon*'s Conſent, for negotiating the Re-union with the Marſhal, The Queen being acquainted with the Project by the Count, appear'd to be well ſatisfied with it. However, ſhe thwarted the deſign underhand. The Miniſters gave her to know, that if the two Princes of the Blood, the Conſtable of *Montmorenci*, the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Epernon*, the Marſhal of *Bouillon*, and Cardinal *Joieuſe*, ſhould lay their Heads together, her Authority would ſink apace. The Regent thought it the better courſe to feed the Jealouſy and Miſunderſtanding between the two Parties, and to buy off the Chief Men both of one and the other, by good Deeds.

Conchini *made Marquis of* Ancre.

Bouillon finding himſelf baulk'd in ſo many Projects, laid down a Reſolution of retiring to *Sedan*. The Court was preparing for their Journey to *Rheims*, in order to the King's Coronation; but the Marſhal's Religion would not allow him to aſſiſt there. However, before he took leave of the Court, he had a Mind to purchaſe a Friend that had much of the Regent's Ear, namely, *Conchini*, Husband to *Leonora Galigai* the Regent's Confident. He had bought the Marquiſate of *Ancre* in *Picardy*. And being much in Favor, got the Governments of *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roie* in the ſame Province. The Miniſters were uneaſy at his ſudden Pre-

Preferment. I know not whether *Soiſſons* and his faction had ſlighted this new Favourite, reckoning him uncapable either to ſerve or annoy them. However, *Conchini* courted *Conde*'s Good Will. He was the Inſtrument that the Queen made uſe of in breaking the Reconciliation of the *Prince*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, propos'd by *Bouillon*. The Marſhal was of too penetrating a Genius, not to perceive, that the Friendſhip of the Marquis of *Ancre* would be very uſeful to him. He offer'd to give up his place of Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, if *Conchini* had a Mind to buy it. The Bargain was quickly ſtuck. 1610.

The K. of Spain refuſes the double Marriage.

All the foreign Princes, and the Republicks of *Venice* and the *United Provinces*, ſent Embaſſadors extraordinary to the new King. The ancient Alliances were renew'd, and *Lewis* was ſolemnly inſtalled Knight of the Garter, which the *Engliſh* Embaſſador brought from *James* I. The Duke of *Feria* repreſented the K. of *Spain*, and made a very ſplendid Figure. Since he could not find his account in puſhing on *Conde* to a Civil War in *France*; he offer'd the Regent, in his Maſter's Name, the Force of *Spain* to quaſh thoſe that diſturb'd her Regency. He likewiſe propos'd once more the double Marriage, which his Maſter had formerly offer'd to the late King. *Philip* knew, there could be nothing more acceptable to the Regent. The Condition of the Affairs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, at that time, requir'd a ſpeedy Concluſion of ſuch a Treaty, which might give him time to adjuſt his Affairs in *Germany*, and might beget a Jealouſy and diſtruſt in the Proteſtant Allies of *France*. But becauſe the Marriage could not be concluded out of hand, he took *Mary*'s Word, that *France* would not interpoſe at all in the affairs of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany*; and he himſelf reciprocally promis'd to receive no Propoſals from the Malcontents of *France*. The Difficulties of the Court of *Madrid* ſprung from the following Cauſes.

Rodolph's difference with his Brother Matthias.

The Emperor *Rodolph* being extreamly infirm, and not likely to live long; the buſineſs was, to ſecure the Empire to the Houſe of *Auſtria* by the Election of a King of the *Romans*. There was no good Underſtanding betwixt *Rodolph* and his Brethren: and the Proteſtants were very ſtrong. The King of *Spain* was afraid they would

1610. would make uſe of ſo favourable an opportunity, to turn the Empire out of a Houſe that had poſſeſs'd it ſo long without any Interruption, and meant to make it Hereditary. The Archduke *Matthias* taking the Advantage of his Brother's Infirmity, had carried on a Confederacy between the States of *Hungary* and thoſe of *Auſtria* in the Year 1608. Sometime after he marched to *Moravia*, at the Head of an Army of 20000 Men, with a Deſign to oblige *Rodolph* to reſign the Kingdom of *Hungary*, the Archdukedom of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and *Moravia*. He made uſe of the Pretence of Mal-adminiſtration, and Infringements upon the Priviledges of the Country, where, in imitation of the ancient *Romans*, arbitrary and boundleſs Power was never granted to Princes; that being a Fundamental Maxim in the Government of all the States that were formed out of the Ruines of the Roman Empire.

Phillip II. King of *Spain*, attempted to aboliſh the Priviledges of his Hereditary Countries in the *Netherlands*; and, in effect, did ſo to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, where the firſt Magiſtrate offer'd Reſiſtance to the unjuſt Oppreſſion of that Wretch *Antonio Perez*, Archduke *Matthias* was *Phillip*'s near Kinſman; but being inſtructed better than that cruel Tyrant in the Maxims of lawful Government, he did not ſcruple to head the *United Provinces* in the Defence of their Liberty againſt the *Spaniards*. And in the Juncture we now ſpeak of, the ſame Archduke, without any Scruple, makes War againſt his own Brother, for violating the Priviledges of the States of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*. Whether or no *Rodolph* gave his Subjects juſt cauſe for an Inſurrection, is not my buſineſs to enquire; I only make this Remark, that in the beginning of this unhappy Century, in which Tyranny has prevailed almoſt every where, there were Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, whoſe Conſcience and Religion allow'd 'em to ſtir up a People to defend the Liberty of their Country, and to appear at the Head of an Army againſt their own Brother.

So ſoon as the Emperor got notice of the Archduke's Deſigns, he call'd together the States of *Bohemia*, levied Troops, and wrote for Aſſiſtance to the Electors and Princes of the Empire. In *Bohemia* there were

two

two ſtrong Factions divided upon the account of Religion, namely, the *Catholicks* and *Evangelici*; by the latter are mean'd the ancient *Huſſites*, thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Ausburgh*, and the Reform'd. In the States of *Bohemia* the one Party was blended with the other. They preſented to the Emperor divers Articles for the Regulation of the Government. In particular, the *Evangelici* requir'd, that the Clergy ſhould not meddle with Civil Affairs; that they ſhould not be Judges upupon conteſted Marriages; that it ſhould not be in their Power to purchaſe Land Eſtates without the conſent of the States of the Kingdom; that all Perſons be admitted to places, without any Diſtinction of Religion. *Rodolph* complied with their Demands. But what concern'd Religion was put off till the next Meeting, appointed to be in the end of *September*. Then the Eſtates ſwore to employ their Lives and Fortunes in the Service of the Emperor. 1610.

Matthias and his Army were now advanc'd to the Gates of *Prague*. After ſome Negotiations, the two Brethren agree to name Deputies on both ſides, in order to an Interview in a neighbouring Village. Where the Peace was concluded upon theſe Terms; That the Emperour ſhould reſign the Kingdom of *Hungary*; that the States of that Country ſhould chuſe no other King but *Matthias*; that *Rodolph* ſhould convey to him and his Heirs the Archdukedom of *Auſtria* without any Reſerve; that *Matthias* ſhould ſucceed to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, in caſe the Emperor died without Sons; that this Article ſhould be ratified by the States of *Bohemia*; that the Archduke ſhould promiſe to maintain all their Priviledges, if the Kingdom came into his hands; that *Matthias* and his Heirs ſhould have the Adminiſtration of *Moravia*, with the Title of Marquiſs; that the Archduke ſhould take care to ſee an Annual Contribution rais'd to the Emperor by the States of all the Countries reſign'd to him. The Treaty being mutually ratified, *Matthias* goes to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Auſtria*. The Catholicks take an Oath of Fidelity to him. But the Proteſtants refuſe it, and riſe up in Arms. Upon the Perſwaſion of *Leopold* of *Auſtria* Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, *Mellini* the Pope's Nuncio, and Cardinal *Forgatſi* Biſhop of *Virms*, the new *The treaty of Peace between the two Brethren.*

1610. Soveraign had publiſh'd an Edict, forbidding all the Subjects of *Auſtria* any Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion.

Matthias *is choſen K. of* Hungary.

Matthias goes from *Vienna* to *Hungary*. Before his Coronation, the Lords of that Country preſented to him ſeveral Articles, which he was to ſwear to; namely, That the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be free in all the Cities, not excepting that of the King's Reſidence; that they ſhould chuſe a Palatine, in whom jointly with the Senators, the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſhould be lodg'd, in caſe the King did not ſtay in *Hungary*; that the Jeſuits ſhould not be ſuffer'd to remain among them; and that the Licentiouſneſs of the Clergy ſhould be check'd. Upon theſe, and a few other Terms, *Matthias* was proclaim'd King, and Crown'd at *Presburgh* in the Year 1608.

The Proteſtants of Auſtria appeas'd.

The Proteſtants of *Auſtria* ſent Deputies to thoſe in *Hungary*, praying them to interceed with *Matthias* on their behalf, and to grant 'em ſome Aſſiſtance by vertue of the Offenſive and Defenſive League between the two States, in caſe he continu'd to deny 'em the free Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in *Auſtria*. The Proteſtant Lords of *Hungary* ſollicited him upon the Point. He anſwer'd, That he would let every thing continue in the ſame Condition as the Emperor *Maximilian* had left it. *The Deference*, ſaid he, *that I'm oblig'd to have for the Pope and his Catholick Majeſty, will not allow me to grant the Proteſtants the Exerciſe of their Religion in the Cities of* Auſtria. *Let them lay down their Arms, and they ſhall have Liberty abroad. In the mean time thoſe of either Communion ſhall be preferr'd without any difference to Civil Offices.* The Hungarian Lords thought the Propoſal very reaſonable, and adviſ'd the Proteſtants of *Auſtria* rather to accept of it, than to make War.

At firſt they demurr'd upon it: At length, after ſeveral Motions, the Affair was put to an end in 1609. at the requeſt of the States of *Moravia*, and by the good Offices of the Arch-duke *Maximilian*, Brother to the Emperour and to the King of *Hungary*. *Matthias* conſented, that the Proteſtant Lords and Gentlemen of *Auſtria* ſhould have the free Exerciſe of their Religion in their Caſtles and Villages, and in their own

parti-

particular Houſes in Towns, confining it to their Families; that this free Exerciſe ſhould be continued in three Cities ſpecified in the Treaty, where the Churches ſhould be equally divided between Catholicks and Proteſtants; that thoſe of either Communion ſhould be preferr'd indifferently to Places and Offices. After that the Proteſtants ſubmitted themſelves, and took an Oath of Allegiance to their new Prince. 1610.

The Emperor had much longer and more difficult conteſts with the *Evangelici* in *Bohemia*. The Meeting of the States appointed to be *September*, 1608. was put off till *January* following. The Roman Catholicks did their utmoſt to provoke *Rodolph* againſt the *Evangelici*, and to perſwade him that they exercis'd their Religion only by Virtue of a ſimple Toleration. The *Evangelici* took it ill, that *Rodolph* ſhould liſten to the bad Counſels of ſome People. *Subjects Oaths*, ſaid they, *are relative to that of the Soveraign; if the Emperor will not keep the Oath he has made us, we are diſcharg'd from the Obligation of ours.* The King referr'ed the Complaints of the *Evangilici* to the Principal Officers of *Bohemia*, who were all Catholicks. Theſe partial Judges ſlighted every thing that the *Evangelici* alledged for their Defence; whereupon the *Evangelici* proteſted in a Full Houſe againſt all that the States ſhould enjoyn; they demanded time to acquaint their Brethren what paſs'd, and to give his Imperial Majeſty better Information. *Religious troubles in* Bohemia.

Immediatly the *Evangelici* ſent Deputes to the King of *Hungary*, to the Electors, and to the Princes of the Empire, begging their Interceſſion with *Rodolph*. The Emperor was willing the States ſhould continue to ſit, and adjuſt the Article of Religion. But the term of their Seſſions being expir'd, he rais'd 'em, and forbad the *Evangelici* to aſſemble in the Court of *New Prague*, to deliberat of their Affairs. They petition'd his Majeſty, that he would ſuffer 'em to meet ſomewhere, to concert Meaſures for ſhewing him the Juſtice of their Pretenſions, and to read the Anſwer that the King of *Hungary*, the Electors, and the Princes of Empire, had ſent 'em. But all was to no purpoſe. The *Evangelici* were irritated by *Rodolph*'s unjuſt Refuſal; ſo that they took one another by the Hand, ſwore mutually to dye for the defence of their Religion and Liber-

ties,

1610. ties, took up Arms, and went to the Court of *New Prague*, broke open the Gates, went in, and conſulted what they were to do.

They were not above 300. *Budovits* their Leader repreſented to the Meeting the Importance of the Interpriſe, the Danger that threaten'd 'em, and the ill Deſigns of their Enemies. Then they pray'd fervently to God, and ſung the Hymn of the Holy Ghoſt in the Vulgar Tongue. The whole Meeting is animated with a new Zeal of Devotion, they continue to ſing, and ſhed Tears in abundance. Soon after a great number of their Brethren comes, joyns in with them, ſings, and cry's along with 'em. Then they gave them notice, that a large company was coming to attack 'em. Inſtead of being affraid, they take courage, go down into the Court, plant themſelves in the Avenues, and prepare for a vigorous Defence. There was about 1200 Cavaleers, and 300 Musketers. And their Brethren, from all Corners, came in to aſſiſt 'em, ſo that in a ſhort time their number increas'd to 10000 Men differently Armed. About Noon there appear'd an Arch in the Heavens, and the Sun ſeem'd to be ſurrounded by ſome new Phænomenon. Thoſe who are naturally Superſtitious, interpret things according as their Imagination is more or leſs hot. They gather'd great hopes from thence, reckoning that God had given 'em a viſible ſign of that particular Aſſiſtance that they had pray'd for ſo ardently. The moſt conſiderable Members return'd to the Hall, to conſult what was to be done. In the mean time the reſt promis'd to guard the Avenues with all poſſible care.

Rodolph being inform'd of what paſs'd, ſent the firſt *Burgrave* of *Prague*, and the firſt Officers of the Crown, to appeaſe the Commotion. *His Imperial Majeſty*, ſays the Burgrave to the Aſſembly in the Hall, *do's not know for what reaſon you are in Arms. He has always lov'd you, as his good Subjects. His Conſcience teſtifies to him, that he has faithfully perform'd whatever he promis'd to the States of the Kingdom; and he hopes ye will not fail in your Fidelity to him. He is willing to call a new Aſſembly, in order to the Deciſion of the Conteſts occaſion'd by the Article of Religion.* *Budovits*, in the name of the reſt, anſwer'd, That the *Evangelici* thank'd him very humbly for his good will

to

to them, and beg'd him to believe, that they never dream'd of making an Inſurruction againſt him. *We complain only*, continues he, *of ſome Perſons who under the pretence of preſerving the Catholick Religion, give his Majeſty ſuch Counſel, as is enough to overturn the State. We hope to make the Emperor ſenſible of it in the next Meeting, which he deſigns to call. It remains that we beg his Majeſty would make Publication of it in three days time. That's the only way to prevent the Accidents that are to be fear'd.* 1610.

The *Evangelici* were ſtill diſtruſtful of the Catholicks; which occaſion'd ſome Commotions. *Rodolph* eaſily appeas'd 'em, by publiſhing the Order for a Meeting. In which he own'd thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Bohemia*, and the Proteſtants, to be good Subjects; and declar'd, that in their Aſſemblies call'd without his conſent, they had no other view but the good of the Kingdom, and his Majeſty's Service; he order'd the Commiſſioners to meet in the Caſtle of *Prague*, *May* 25. 1609. and promis'd, that no Souldier ſhould come thither; and that thoſe who were in his Service ſhould be ſent off, to the end that the States might have free liberty to determine that Article of their Religion. After the Publication of the order, the *Evangelici* return'd ſolemn Thanks to God Almighty. But finding their Enemies had always ſome new pretence to hinder the Concluſion of the Affair, they began to raiſe Soldiers, and bring 'em into *Prague*. *The troubles of* Bohemia *appeas'd.*

All things were making ready for a Civil War, when, upon the interceſſion of the Elector of *Saxony*, *Rodolph* iſſued forth a Proclamation, granting to all, whether Catholicks or Proteſtants, the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and to Worſhip God, whether in the *Bohemian* or *German* Languages; diſcharging the Biſhop of *Prague* to diſturb the Miniſters of the *Evangelici* in their Worſhip; declaring, that the Catholicks and they ſhould equally enjoy the ſame Priveleges; and that the *Evangelici* might freely build Churches, and found Colleges. This Edict was declar'd to be perpetual and irrevocable; and thoſe who offer to violate the ſame, ſhould be puniſh'd as Diſturbers of the publick Peace. By vertue of this Edict the Proteſtant Miniſters preach'd publickly *July*, 15. 1609. in the Church

of

1610. of the *Huſſites* that had been ſhut for a long time. 'Twas not doubted but the Jeſuites had inſpir'd the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, and the Officers of the Empire, with thoſe violent Counſels that occaſion'd the preceding Commotion. The Catholicks and the *Evangelici* were equally angry. And both of 'em joyn'd together, in preſenting a Petition to the Emperor, repreſenting, That whereas the Jeſuits came very poor into *Bohemia*, yet they poſſeſs'd at that time very conſiderable Eſtates, without contributing any thing to the Publick Charge. Therefore they humbly petition'd his Majeſty to give Orders, that they ſhould not be exempted more than others, and that they ſhould not hereafter receive any thing by Letter, Will, or Donation, without his Majeſty's ſpecial leave.

The Diet at Prague. *Rodolph* repented already of the Treaty concluded with *Matthias* his Brother; and demanded Reſtitution of *Auſtria* and *Moravia*. The Electors and Princes of the Empire met at *Prague* in the Year 1610. in Order to reconcile the two Brethren. Beſides, the Election of the King of the *Romans*, and the Succeſſion of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, was not yet decided. The Elector of *Cologne*, *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, Archduke of *Gratz*, and *Henry Jules*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, went all to *Vienna* to confer with the King of *Hungary*. After a long Negotiation, the two Brethren made a new Treaty. *Matthias* was to continue in poſſeſſion of all that had been reſign'd to him; and poor *Rodolph* got nothing but a ſhew of Submiſſion, with a yearly Tribute of ſome Hogſheads of Wine, and a ſmall Sum of Mony.

The Empe-ror adjudges Cleves *and* Juliers *to the Elector of* Saxony. The Diet came to no Reſolve about the Election of a King of the *Romans*. They did not perceive that the Poſture of Affairs favor'd the Houſe of *Auſtria*. As for what concern'd the Succeſſion of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, the Emperor had a mind to raiſe a new Commotion about it. Archduke *Leopold*'s little Army had every day ſome little Skirmiſhes with the Troops of the States General, or thoſe of the Confederate Princes; but was not ſtrong enough to keep the Country. *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* was coming in good earneſt to lay Siege to *Juliers*, with the auxiliary Troops of *France* and *England*. Then the Houſe of *Auſtria* was

ſenſible

ſenſible that they were not able to coap with ſo many United States, that oppos'd their deſign'd Uſurpation. Their only Relief was to endeavor to get the Succeſſion adjudg'd to ſome Proteſtant Prince, that oppos'd their Intereſt leſs than thoſe of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*. They had their Eye upon the Elector of *Saxony*. The Pretenſions of his Family were grounded upon certain Grants from the Emperors, which had always been without Effect, notwithſtanding that an Opportunity of making them valid had already offer'd itſelf. A Daughter fell Heireſs to the Eſtates of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and poſſeſs'd 'em; even ſince the Emperor's Grant to the Houſe of *Saxony*, ordering them to ſucceed upon the Failure of Male-Heirs. But when a good handſom Sovereignty is in the Caſe, Princes are not ſo ſcrupulous. The leaſt Shew of Right will ſuffice to authorize them to diſpoſe of it, or reſerve it to themſelves. In ſhort, *Rodolph* gave, upon certain Terms, to the Elector and Family of *Saxony*, all the Countries that belong'd to the late *John William* Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. 1610.

Maurice takes Juliers.

It had been a better Compliment if the Emperor had added to the Grant a good Army to make it effectual. The Town of *Juliers* was inveſted *July* 28. by *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* at the Head of the *Dutch* Troops joyn'd to thoſe from *England*. On the 18. of *Auguſt* the Marſhal of *Chatre* brought up 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe. *Raſchemberg* Governor of the Place for the Emperor, defended it with a great deal of Prudence and Courage. But at that time Prince *Maurice* was ſo great a Maſter of the Art of beſieging and taking Towns, that *Raſchemberg* was oblig'd to capitulate the 1. of *September*. By this Means *Juliers* came into the Hands of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*. At that time they were call'd the *Poſſeſſing Princes*, to diſtinguiſh 'em from other *Pretenders*.

A Meeting at Cologn upon the Affair of Juliers and Cleves.

After the Surrender of *Juliers*, ſome of the *German* Princes met at *Cologn*, to concert Meaſures for an Accomodation. The Elector of *Triers* and Count *Hohenzollern* came there as Commiſſioners from the Emperor. *Lewis*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, made ſeveral Propoſals. But the *Poſſeſſing Princes* did not mind 'em. They propos'd a Sequeſtration into the Emperor's Hands,

1610. Hands, and that the Elector of *Saxony* ſhould come in an equal Sharer with the Princes of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*. The *French* Ambaſſador made another Propoſal, which did not pleaſe neither the Landgrave nor the Imperial Commiſſioners. The *German* Princes never deſir'd that Foreign Princes ſhould meddle too much with the Empire. There were a great many Writings given in by the *Poſſeſſing Princes*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Imperial Commiſſioners. But they could not come to any Agreement. The Meeting broke up, and every one proteſted it was not his Fault that an Accomodation was not made. This favor'd *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*. While the Diſpute was going on, they continu'd peaceable Poſſeſſors of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. The Proteſtant Confederate Princes did 'em good Service, in obliging *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, the Head of the Catholic League, to lay down Arms, and the Elector of *Cologn* to enjoyn a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities between his Subjects and thoſe of *Juliers*.

The Coronation of Lewis XIII. The Court of *France* was then at *Rheims*, in Order to the Coronation of the young King. Cardinal *Joyeuſe*, repreſenting the Archbiſhop of the Place, perform'd the Ceremony with the uſual Solemnities. The Princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, the Count of *Soiſſons*, the Dukes of *Nevers*, *Elbeuf*, and *Epernon*, fill'd the Places of the Ancient Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*; the Counts of *Tolouſe*, *Flanders*, and *Champaigne*. I ſhall not inſiſt upon the Particulars of that long Ceremony. They're recounted in ſeveral Books. Indeed, 'tis a thing that is worth our Remembrance and Attention. Before Anointing, the King promiſes, upon the Requeſt of the conſecrating Prelate, to grant to the Biſhops and Churches their Canonical Privileges, to enact good Laws, to do Juſtice, to defend his Subjects, as a King is oblig'd to do. Then two Biſhops, Peers of *France*, put the Queſtion to the Aſſiſtants, whether they receive the Prince then preſent for their King; and all the States of the Kingdom having given their Conſent, they adminiſter to the Prince a ſolemn Coronation Oath: A convincing Proof, that between a Sovereign and his

Subjects

Subjects there is a reciprocal and relative Engage- 1610.
ment.

In an Elective Kingdom, the Subjects engage only to the Elected Prince, upon ſuch Terms as are mutually agreed on in the Act of Election. But in a Hereditary State, Subjects ſtand engag'd to him whom they've choſen, and to his Poſterity; providing ſtill that they perform all the Conditions ſtipulated by the firſt of their Royal Family. Upon which Account the particular Succeſſors are not ſolemnly own'd as Kings, till after the Ratification of the Original Contract with their Predeceſſor, from whom they derive their Pretenſions to the Crown. The Words of a celebrated and pious Writer in the Gallican Church are theſe. *'Tis a groſs Error*, ſays he, *to pretend that a Sovereign is under no Obligation to his Subjects. As upon the one hand, the Divine Law, Natural Equity, and the true End of Government, tye up Subjects to Allegiance, and the Service of their Prince; ſo are Princes reciprocally engag'd to be faithful to their Subjects, and to protect 'em. Put the Caſe that a Sovereign Acts manifeſt Injuſtice, without regarding the Remonſtrances of his Subjects; they are allow'd to defend themſelves according to that Maxim of the Law of Nature, which permits the Repulſe of Force by Violence.* Another Divine of *Paris*, as illuſtrious by his Birth, as by his ſingular Learning, plainly told *Henry* II. that he ought to deteſt ſuch a Tyrannical Maxim, as being more worthy of a Sovereign Turk or Tartar, meaning that Maxim, now commonly receiv'd at Courts, *viz. That the King is Maſter of the Perſons and Eſtates of his Subjects.* As for the Courtiers that whiſper ſuch Stories in their Sovereign's Ears; that Doctor did not ſtand to call 'em, *the Dogs and Flatterers of the Court.*

Reflections on the Coronation Oath.

Joan. Gerſon. *adverſ. Adulat. Princ. Conſid* viii.

Claude Deſpence Inſtitut. d'un Prince Chret. c. viii.

Some things, to the ſame purpoſe, were printed during the Minority of this Prince. But neither Bookſeller nor Author durſt prefix their Names. The Book was wrote by a Clergyman, diſtinguiſh'd by his Learning and Goodneſs; who has ſince been preferr'd to the greateſt Dignities in the Cathedral of *Paris*. But all this that was ſpoke ſo publickly to *Henry* II. and printed privately about 50 Years ago, would be now forgot in *France*; were it but as eaſie to forget, as to be ſilent

M. Jolli Maximes pour l'Inſt. du Roy.

for

1610. for fear of the Inquiſition. All ſuch Books are now burnt by the Hand of the Hangman. What! do the wretched Magiſtrates, that give order for ſo doing, reckon that the Flame which conſumes the Paper, will be able to race out of true good Frenchmen's Breaſts the Sentiments that right Reaſon has rivited within 'em.

The Oath requir'd by James I. of his Popiſh Subjects, cauſes Diſputes about the Independance of Kings in temporal Affairs.

The Parliament of *Paris* made an Act, *Nov.* 26. for the Suppreſſion of a Book publiſh'd by Cardinal *Bellarmine* a Jeſuit, *concerning the Pope's Authority in Temporal Things.* This new Book was occaſion'd by a Diſpute between the Author and K. *James* I. of *Britain* about an Oath which he required of his Catholick Subjects. In few words; the Original and Progreſs of the Diſpute was this: After the Gunpowder Conſpiracy, *James* thought fit, for the Safety of his Perſon, to demand from the Engliſh Papiſts an Oath of Fidelity. It was ſo worded, as not to offend the Conſciences of thoſe, who, without renouncing their Religion, would render to their Soveraign his due. The purport of it was, That the Pope had no Right to dethrone Kings, to diſpoſe of their Countries, to ſollicit a Foreign Prince to invade 'em; to abſolve Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and enjoin 'em to take up Arms againſt their Soveraign. They were to promiſe to be true to the King, to ſerve him, notwithſtanding all the Pope's efforts againſt him, and to diſcover all the Conſpiracies they knew of. They were to abjure the impious and heretical Doctrine of thoſe who taught, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope, might be depos'd and aſſaſſinated. In fine, they were to proteſt a ſincere believe, that neither Pope, nor any other Power, could diſpenſe with the Obſervation of an Oath, and renounce all his Diſpenſations for that effect. The Engliſh Papiſts thought it very reaſonable. All the Gentlemen, Prieſts, and others, ſwore as above. *George Blackwell*, nominated Archbiſhop of *England* by the Pope, did not only ſwear, but wrote to the Pope to juſtifie the Action.

Paul V. *diſcharges the Engliſh Papiſts to take the Oath.*

The Court of *Rome* did not like the Oath. But that was no Surprizal to Men of Senſe. It branded a Propoſition as impious and heretical, which was one of the fundamental Articles of their Religion. In fine,

'twas

twas concluded that thoſe who approv'd that Oath, could not reaſon with any Conſequence, if they believ'd the Pope to be Chriſt's Vicar. It ſtunn'd *Paul* V. to hear that the *Engliſh* Papiſts went ſo far, without giving him Notice. He immediately diſpatch'd a Brief, diſcharging them to ſwear to an Oath, that was contrary to the Catholic Faith, and the Salvation of their Souls. He us'd as warm and zealous Expreſſions, as if he had been exhorting the poor People not to ſign the moſt helliſh Paper againſt the Divinity of Jeſus hriſt. This thundring Brief did ſo confound them, that they could think of nothing elſe, but to look upon it as ſuppoſititious, the Pope being ill-inform'd of what was tranſacted in *England*. 1610.

They were quickly undeceiv'd of that voluntary Errour; for *Paul* diſpatch'd another Brief in confirmation of the former. Cardinal *Bellarmine* was at that time the great and famous Aſſertor of the Papal Authority; *Baronius* being dead ſometime before, *Bellarmine* wrote a ſtarch Letter to *Blackwell*, in order to convince him of his Errour. Had he renounc'd the Goſpel, or embrac'd the *Alcoran*, they cou'd not have ſent him a more pathetick Remonſtrance. This provok'd King *James*; ſo that he reſolv'd to write himſelf in defence of the Oath againſt the two Briefs, and *Bellarmine*'s Letter; but did not prefix his Name. Had not a King done better in not writing at all, and leaving the Care of the Diſpute to ſome body elſe? The honeſt Prince own'd publickly, that it became a King better to Judge than to diſpute. A pitiful little Jeſuit preferr'd for his ſcribling to be a Cardinal, was not a proper Adverſary for ſo great a Monarch. He demean'd himſelf as a King; and *James* acted the part of a Doctor. The one commanded, and the other diſputed. A Prince does amiſs in ſetting up for an Author, unleſs he write like *Julius Cæſar*, or *Marcus Aurelius*. *Julian* won'd needs take up the Pen in defence of his Philoſophical Beard and his Religion. But with all his Learning he rendred himſelf contemptible and ridiculous.

K. James publiſhes an Apology for the Oath, without prefixing his Name.

Bellarmine did not fail to give the King a Reply, tho' under a borrowed Name. A learned Prelate of *England* undertook to refute him. He ſhew'd, that before *Gregory* VII. no Eccleſiaſtical Author ever offer'd to

James owns himſelf the Author of the Apology.

1610. maintain the Popes Authority over the Temporalities of Soveraigns. The King of *England* publiſh'd a ſecond Edition of his Apology, and own'd himſelf the Author of it. I can't tell whether he thought to honour himſelf in defending the common Cauſe of all Soveraigns; or, whether he had a mind to expoſe to view the Learning that's ſo uncommon among Perſons of his Quality. The work was grac'd with a magnificent Preface, being a Manifeſto addreſs'd to the Emperour, to all Kings, all Princes, and to all the Republicks of *Chriſtendom*; in Vindication of the Oath, and his Conduct with regard to his Catholick Subjects. Awake, it is high time, ſaid the King. The common Intereſt of all Soveraigns lies at Stake. A redoubted and obſtinate Enemy inſenſibly undermines the Foundations of your Authority. If ye do not unanimouſly join in putting a ſtop to the new Advances he makes every Day, your moſt unqueſtion'd Rights will quickly be uſurp'd. He who attacks me to day, will declare himſelf againſt you to morrow. A wiſe Man ought not to ſit at home with his Hands acroſs, when his Neighbour's Houſe is on Fire. The Advice was ſeaſonable; but his *Britannick* Majeſty had the diſappointment to underſtand, that ſeveral Catholick Princes durſt not read his Apology, for fear of offending the Pope. Strange Servitude! Was it politicks, or was it Superſtition, that could reduce Soveraigns to ſo baſe a Complaiſance for a Biſhop, whom they wou'd have honour'd very much, in ranking him as the firſt Subject of the Empire?

Coeffetau writes againſt the Apology.

Henry IV. King of *France* was as weak as the reſt. He diſcharg'd any publick Tranſlation of the Book which his Ally ſent him. But all his Care and Inſtructions were to no purpoſe. The Apology was publiſh'd in *French*, in ſpite of him. *Coeffetau* a Dominican, and ſince Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, was in thoſe days look'd upon as an Author that began to give an elegant and agreeable turn to the *French* Language. This Author had a mind to ſignalize himſelf on this occaſion. Accordingly he enter'd the Liſts with the King. He was oblig'd to ſpeak as they do in *France*, and to own the Independence of Soveraigns as to their Temporalities. But the polite *Dominican* embaraſs'd himſelf terribly. *Indeed*, ſays he to the King of *Great Britain*, *if the Catholick*

tholick Church teach ſuch furious Doctrins; if ſhe arm her Diſciples, and encourage 'em to attack the lives of Princes, ſhe is not only unworthy of their Favour, but deſerves to be hiſs'd out of Doors, and her Memory to be raz'd out by a publick Act of Human-kind. But if, on the contrary, ſhe condemns ſuch actions as Parricides, if ſhe wiſhes to all Princes a ſecure Government, Victorious Armies, and obedient People, a faithful Council, and all that contributes to their Happineſs or Grandeur; is not ſhe then innocent, notwithſtanding the fury of ſome particular Perſons, whom Deſpair, and not Religion, has drove upon ſuch inhuman Actions. She's ſenſible ſhe can't ſubſiſt without the State, ſince ſhe is born in the State, and the State muſt be her ſupport. 1610.

The Catholic Church is a ſtrange equivocal Expreſſion in *France*. If the Author be allow'd to ſignifie by it the more ſenſible and ingenuous part, then he may ſpeak truth. But if by the Words he mean'd, as 'tis reaſonable they ſhou'd, the Soveraign Paſtor, the great number of thoſe in the firſt Dignities, and the moſt celebrated Writers, I'm afraid good Mr. *Coeffetau* has advanc'd a notorious Lie. The Pope and Cardinals gave him the Lie openly that very ſame Year in which he wrote againſt King *James*. *Barclay* had wrote againſt *Bellarmine* about the Popes Authority, purſuant to the Principles commonly receiv'd among the better ſort of People in *France*. His Book was condemned at *Rome*, as well as the Noble Hiſtory of the Learned *de Thou*, the famous Plea of *Antony Arnaud* againſt the Jeſuits, and the very Act of the Parliament of *Paris* againſt *John Chaſtel*, who had attack'd the Life of *Henry* IV. That poor Prince was then alive. Perhaps their unaccountable Cenſure, which he ſuffer'd ſo patiently, ſerv'd to excite the Fury of the Wretch who aſſaſſinated him the next Year. If the pretended Head of the Roman Church, the Cardinals, and the greater number of their Paſtors, did not teach ſuch furious Principles; if they condemn'd ſuch things as Parricides, would they have diſhonour'd ſo many good Books, and ſo juſt and Chriſtian an Act? Let us conclude therefore, that, according to the famous *Coeffetau*'s Judgment, the Pope and Cardinals deſerve to be exterminated, and their Memory ought to be raz'd out by a publick Edict of Human-kind.

1610. *Bellarmine addresses his Answer to the Apology to the Emperor and Popish Princes.*

As Cardinals pretend to be equal with Crown'd Heads, so *Bellarmine* addresses to the Emperor and the Kings of the Catholic Communion, his Answer to *James*'s Apology, publish'd before under a borrowed Name. *Ye ought not to think it strange*, says the Cardinal, *that I undertake to confute a King. It is in Defence of the Faith that I take up my Pen, in imitation of several Prelates of Antiquity.* Hilary *of* Poictiers, *and* Lucifer Cagliavi *wrote against the Emperour* Constantius *a Heretick.* Gregory Nazianzen *and* Cyrillus *of* Alexandria *entred the Lists with* Julian *the Apostate.* This Charge of the Priest's was drawn upon King *James* by himself, in engaging himself in Controversies without occasion. Had he contented himself with publishing a Manifesto, to prove the Justice of the Oath, he had nettled the Court of *Rome* and its Partisans. But he went out of his way to shew, that the Pope is Antichrist, and *Rome* the Seat of the Son of Perdition. By this means he furnished the Popish Sovereigns with a plausible Pretence for not approving the Apology that the King presented to 'em, and applauding the Answer of a Cardinal.

An Act of the Parliament of Paris *against* Bellarmin's *Treatise of the* Pope's *Authority.*

That Dispute rested there. *Bellarmine* set about a Reply to *Barclay*, who had refuted the Cardinal's Advances concerning the Pope's Authority, in the first Volume of his Controversies. The King's Officers had oppos'd the Printing of 'em at *Paris*; and the first Sheets which were already wrought off were suppress'd by the Order of the Attorney General. As soon as the Magistrates got notice of a new Book published by *Bellarmine* concerning the Power of the Pope in temporal Things, *Servin* Advocate General, mov'd the Parliament to make Provision against the Evils that the Publication of so bad a Book might occasion. He said, the Duty of his place oblig'd him not to be less vigilant or less zealous for the Service of his Master, than *Peter de Cugnieres* and *John le Cocq* his Predecessors had been; the one under the Reign of *Philip de Valois*, and the other in the Reign of *Charles* VI. He alledg'd likewise, that the King of *Spain* and his Officers had lately done the like upon a Volume of Cardinal *Baronius*'s Annals, where the Monarchy of *Sicily* was attack'd. Upon this Remonstrance the Parliament

gave

gave Orders that *Bellarmin*'s Book ſhould be ſuppreſſed in *France*. To take a View of what paſs'd in *Spain* that ſame Year againſt *Baronius*. 1610.

The Kings of *Sicily* have for a long time been the only Popes of that little Kingdom. They alledge, that by vertue of a certain Bull granted by Pope *Urban* II. to *Roger* Count of *Sicily* and his Succeſſors, the Sovereign of that Country is by Birth a Legat of the Holy See. His Spiritual Authority there is ſo great, that he Excommunicates and Abſolves, by himſelf or his Magiſtrates, all Laick and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, even Biſhops and Cardinals themſelves reſiding in the Kingdom. They alledge further, That tho' this right be deriv'd from the Holy See, yet it is irrevocable, as being the Sovereign's Property. So that the King of *Spain* in *Italy* is equally Monarch over Spiritual and Temporal Things, and lays Claim to all the Rights that belong to the Pope in Countries ſubject to him. *Jean la Folle*, Mother to *Charles* V. and ſeveral other Princeſſes, having reign'd by themſelves in *Sicily*, each of 'em were entitled *Sanctiſſimo Padre*; by vertue of that Quality they had power to preſide to Provincial and National Councils, or to nominate Perſons to preſide in their Name. The Kings of *Spain* are ſo jealous of this rare Prerogative, that in the Reign of *Charles* IV. a Viceroy of *Sicily* made it his buſineſs to collect all the Titles and Acts that tended to juſtifie the ſame. At the ſame time the Viceroy ordered three Authentick Copies of this Collection to be drawn out. In the Year 1698. one of 'em was offer'd to Sale in *London*, which had been brought off at the laſt taking of *Barcelona* by the French. It was in my Cuſtody for ſome time. The Biſhop of *Norwich*, a Man curious of all good Books, bought it not very dear, conſidering its Rarity. It is ſuch another Collection as that of the Proofs of the Liberties of the Gallican Church. It contains chiefly divers Judgments given in the Tribunal, as they call it, of the Monarchy of *Spain*.

The Edict of the K. of Spain againſt the eleventh Vol. of Barronius's *Annals.*

Cardinal *Baronius*, in the Second Tome of his Eccleſiaſtical Annals, did very warmly attack the Spiritual Power that Catholick Kings attribute to themſelves. *An unheard of Right*, ſays the Cardinal, *a Right that even* Frederick II. *and his Children, thoſe unjuſt Tyrants and*

1610. *rebellious Perſecutors of the Church of* Rome, *have not had the Impudence to uſurp.* This occaſion'd a great Conteſt between *Baronius* and Cardinal *Colonne*, who alledg'd, That his Brother had no reaſon to fall ſo foul upon the King of *Spain*. The Court of *Madrid* was ſo diſpleas'd with the Author and his Annals, that they caus'd him to be excluded in a Conclave, where he had 37 Voices. In ſhort, on the 3. of *October*, 1610. *Philip* III. publiſh'd an Edict, in which, after many heavy Complaints upon *Baronius*'s Invectives, and a long Enumeration of good Services done by the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* his Predeceſſors, to the Church of *Rome*, he forbids his Subjects, under great Penalties, to read or vent *Baronius*'s Eleventh Volume, unleſs the Paſſage which attacks the Monarchy of *Sicily* be tore out.

Servin knew that the King of *Spain*'s Example had great Influence upon *Mary de Medicis*; and hop'd that would keep her from cenſuring the Parliaments Orders againſt *Bellarmin*'s Book. But he was miſtaken. For the Queen was as much devoted to the Court of *Rome*, as to that of *Madrid*. The Pope's Nuncio in *Spain* durſt not ſay any thing againſt *Philip*'s Edict: But in *France* he had more Courage, and Succeſs withal; For upon his Solicitation the Regent's Council ſtop'd the Execution of the Parliament's Orders with reference to *Bellarmin*'s Book. The Enemies of the Soveraign Power of Princes had always liberty to ſpeak and write freely.

A Scuffle of the Marquis of Ancre *with* Soiſſons *and* Epernon.

The Marquis of *Ancre*, *Mary*'s Favorite, began to be unſufferable to the Princes and firſt Lords of the Court. In the King's Journey to *Rheims* the Marquis's Retinue had a ſort of Scuffle with Cardinal *Joieuſe*'s about Lodgings. *Conchini* being made firſt Gentleman of the Bedchamber, had a Debate with *Bellegarde* Great Maſter of Horſe, about their reſpective Places in the King's Solemn Entry into *Paris* after his Coronation. The Duke of *Epernon*, being *Bellegarde*'s Couſin, declar'd againſt *Conchini*. And the Count of *Soiſſons* being angry with him for ſerving the Duke of *Guiſe* in his Marriage to the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Montpenſier*, would not ſo much as ſpeak with him. Now the enmity of two ſuch Great Men, made him uneaſie. He indeavor'd an Accomodation. And *Soiſſons* might

have

have been brought to comply; but he demanded, that the Marquis of *Ancre*, and his Marchioneſs, ſhould ſerve him in two things, which he was paſſionately in queſt off; namely, his Marriage to the Heireſs of *Montpenſier*, and ruining the Duke of *Sulli*. 1610.

The Marquis gave his Word in general to the firſt Propoſition; but he ſpoke more poſitively to the ſecond Article about *Sulli*; providing the Miniſters did ſide with him. He did not love *Sulli*; being jealous that the Intereſt of an Old Miniſter, migh keep back a growing Favourite. But after all, *Soiſſons* durſt not conclude the Reconcilation, without *Epernon* were ſatisfied. He was a more aſpiring and obſtinate Man, who pretended to ſtand upon his own Legs, without the aſſiſtance of Favorites; and was not to be ſo eaſily brought over. He demanded that *Conchini* ſhould come to his Houſe, and make him ſatisfaction in the preſence of *Soiſſons*. *Conchini* being proud of his Intereſt at Court, and his New Dignities, refus'd to give a Duke that Submiſſion, which, without meanneſs, might have been given to a Prince of the Blood. *Soiſſons* found out an Expedient to ſatisfie the Height of the one, and the Niceneſs of the other. Preſident *Jeannin* preſented *Conchini* to the Count. After the concerted Compliments, the two new Friends went to Game together. When the Game was over; *'Tis not enough*, ſays Soiſſons to the Marquis, *that you and I are reconcil'd; You muſt be reconcil'd to all my good Friends. I am going now to viſit one of 'em; and I beg you'd go along.* *Conchini* anſwer'd, *I am ready to do what you pleaſe.* Away they go to *Epernon*'s Houſe. All things went very agreeably on either ſide. That which private Men reckon a Trifle, is an Affair of Importance among the great.

A Party at Court againſt Sulli.

There was no great Difficulty in getting the Miniſters of State to conſent and joyn in projecting *Sulli*'s Ruin. He had fallen out with *Villeroi*, who was the only Man among them, that had imploy'd his Intereſt to keep him in. There were ſome hard and diſobliging Words ſpoke on both ſides in the Council before the Queen, *Villeroi* knowing himſelf to be more wanted at Court, and better back'd, retreated on purpoſe from the Court; which was as 'twere a Threat that he would not return while *Sulli* was imploy'd in

1610. the Government. The Regent was of herſelf diſpos'd to remove *Sulli* from the Adminiſtration of Affairs. A Proteſtant Miniſter could not be very acceptable to a Princeſs that blindly follow'd the Humors of the Court of *Rome*. Beſides, ſhe did not like his ſevere reſerv'd Temper ;for he did not fail to check her in her expenſive charges, and indiſcreet Liberalities. Indeed, the fear of raiſing Murmurings among the Proteſtants, by diſcarding, without any occaſion, a Lord of their Religion; might have kept back the Queen, and diſpers'd the Club that was forming againſt 'em. But ſhe depended upon *Bouillon*'s Intereſt with the Proteſtant Party. And *Bouillon* hated *Sulli* mortally. *Bouillon* had likewiſe ſchool'd the Prince of *Conde*, by repreſenting to him the advantage that would accrue by the Confiſcation of the Eſtate of an Overſeer. So the Prince was not further concern'd in preſerving a Man, Whoſe Fall would enrich him.

THE

1611.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF *LEWIS* XIII.

King of *France* and *Navarre*.

BOOK II.

IN the Year 1611. *Conchini* was juſt entring into his Place of firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. *Bellegarde* having ſerv'd the preceding Year in the ſame Quality, would gladly have continu'd in the Apartments in the *Louvre*, mark'd out for the firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, becauſe the Marquis of *Ancre* had Apartments in the *Louvre* already along with his Lady. But *Conchini* had not ſo good an Underſtanding with him, as to quit his Right to him. So the Keys of the Apartments are demanded. But the Delivery of 'em is put off upon ſeveral Excuſes. The Marquis of *Ancre* being uneaſy at ſuch affected Delays, asks 'em of *Bellegarde* in the Queen's Cloſet.

The Scuffle between Bellegarde *and* Conchini.

1611. Closet. After a flat Denial, they gave one another hard Words. *Conchini* did not want Courage. He went out of the *Louvre* to avoid the Injunctions againſt Fighting, with a Deſign to have Satisfaction for the Affront and Injuſtice that *Bellegarde* had given him.

The Quarrel made a great Noiſe at Court. Every one ſided according to his Paſſion or particular Intereſt. *Soiſſons* being an old Friend of *Bellegarde's*, forgot his late Engagements to *Conchini*. He threaten'd to get *Conchini* expell'd the Court: And his Paſſion, of which he was ſeldom Maſter, would have carry'd him further, had not the Marquis *de Coeuvres* his Confident ſtop'd him. *What*, ſays the Marquis, *do you pretend to compaſs the deſign'd Marriage of your Son to the Princeſs of* Montpenſier, *and the Ruine of the Duke of* Sulli, *your inveterate Enemy, by quarrelling with the Queen and her Creatures?* Bellegarde *is your Friend, but do not ye conſider that the Duke of* Guiſe, *whom you do not love, is now ally'd to him, by marrying the Princeſs Dowager of* Montpenſier *his near Couſin? Do you hope, that your Intereſt will ever hereafter be more dear to* Bellegarde, *than that of the Duke of* Guiſe? *If ye have no Eſteem for* Conchini, *at leaſt ye ought to have ſome Regard for your ſelf.*

The Count was juſt beginning to conſider of the matter, when a Gentleman comes to acquaint *Coeuvres* that the Marquis of *Ancre* would be glad to meet him at *Etree's* Houſe. *Coeuvres* goes thither immediately, and exhorts *Conchini* to conſent to an Accomodation. Says the Marquis of *Ancre*, *Monſieur the Prince and the D. of* Epernon *have offer'd me their Mediation. But if I muſt come to that, the Count's Mediation will be more acceptable to me.* *Coeuvres* made very good uſe of this Diſcovery. Inſomuch that *Soiſſons* oblig'd the Queen, by accomodating a Quarrel, that made her uneaſy.

Soiſſons *falls out with* Joieuſe *and* Epernon.

Conchini took it very kindly of the Count, and by way of Gratitude, promis'd to act effectually in promoting the Marriage of his Son to the Heireſs of *Montpenſier*, and ruining *Sulli*. And in Effect the Queen did conſent to both Propoſitions; they being back'd by the Miniſters of State, and the Marquis of *Ancre*. But as ſoon as the Duke of *Epernon* and Cardinal

dinal *Joieuſe* heard that the Queen was about to diſpoſe of their Niece, without their Conſent; they made their Complaint to the King; and that the more warmly, becauſe 'twas a piece of contempt in the Count to negotiate the Match with the Regent, without acquainting them. That fiery and unwary Prince did very unſeaſonably take up a Grudge againſt two Perſons whom he ought to have engag'd in his Intereſts. Some Endeavours were made towards an Accomodation; but in vain. *Soiſſons* was too paſſionate, and *Epernon* too proud. The late King had deſign'd the Princeſs of *Montpenſier* for his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*; and diſcover'd his Mind to Cardinal *Joieuſe* and the Duke of *Epernon*. And 'tis preſum'd both the Niece and the Uncles had reaſon to prefer the firſt Sons of *France*, to the meaneſt Prince of the Blood. However the Duke of *Orleans* dy'd that Year the 17. of *November*. Then they deſign'd the Princeſs of *Montpenſier* to *Gaſton* the Duke of *Anjou* third Son to *Henry* IV. 1611.

In the beginning of this Year *Soiſſons* had two famous Scuffles. One with the Prince of *Conti* his Brother, and another with the Duke of *Guiſe*, three days after the Marriage of the Duke of *Guiſe* with the Princeſs Dowager of *Montpenſier*. As *Conti* was going in in his Coach to the *Louvre* he meets *Soiſſons* in his Coach. The Street being narrow there was a Neceſſity for one Coach to put back to give place to the other. The Count's Gentleman of the Horſe begins to threaten, and without regarding the Livery Men, to command the Prince's Coachman to put back. *Conti's* Retinue would not yield, but told the Coachman to advance, and fear nothing. Then *Soiſſons* perceiv'd 'twas his Elder Brother's Coach. And ſent immediately an Apology for the Indiſcretion of his Coachman. Proteſtations were made to the Prince, on the Count's Behalf, that the thing happen'd only through Negligence, without any Forethought or Deſign. But all the Count's Deference did not ſatisfie the peeviſh Prince. When a Man is ſenſible of his own Weakneſs, he thinks every body contemns him. As the Prince paſs'd by his Brother's Coach, he gave him a Challenge to morrow. Thus brutiſhly to ſtifle all

Soiſſons falls out with Conti his Brother.

the

1611. the Sentiments of Religion and Nature, for the ſake of a Point of Honour, was the way to render himſelf more contemptible to Men of Senſe.

The two Princes agreed.

The Regent being advertis'd how Caſes ſtood, deſir'd the Prince of *Conde* to interpoſe for an Accomodation between the two Uncles; and ſent a Meſſage to the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe Siſter *Conti* had marry'd, to perſwade his Brother-in-Law to accept of the Count's Excuſes. *Conde* and *Guiſe* go that ſame day to the Abby of *St. Germains* where *Conti* lodg'd. The Duke of *Guiſe*, either by Chance, or with a Deſign to ſhew the Royal Family and his new Bride, that the Honſe of *Guiſe* was ſtill as conſiderable as in former Reigns; went out from *Montpenſier* Houſe, accompany'd by an extraordinary Number of Gentlemen on Horſe-back, in order to viſit the Prince of *Conti*; and with the ſame Pomp paſs'd by *Soiſſon's* Houſe.

As the Duke return'd from the Abby of *St. Germains*, he met the Prince of *Conti* going thither, attended only by four or five Gentlemen on Horſe-back. They ſaluted one another. The Duke told *Conde*, that *Conti* was in good Temper, and had promis'd that the Affair ſhould go no further. *If ye allow me*, Sir, continues the Duke of *Guiſe*, *I'll return with you, and ſhall have the Honor to wait on you to* Conti's *Apartments, and remind him of the Promiſe he made me.* *Conde* had no Mind to accept of the Civility offer'd him, becauſe the Duke's Retinue was much more ſplendid than his, and he would only ſeem to be honouring the Duke on a triumphant day. So that only *Guiſe*'s Brother went off from the Retinue, and accompany'd the Prince to the Abby of *St. Germains*. *Conti* renew'd to his Nephew the ſame Aſſurances that he had given to his Brother-in-Law. And ſo the Difference was taken away.

Soiſſons *falls out with the Duke of* Guiſe.

Guiſe having endeavour'd to reconcile *Conti* to his Brother, rais'd to himſelf a Difference with the Count of *Soiſſons*. The Word at *Soiſſons* Houſe was, Guiſe *had a Retinue of more than* 150 *Gentlemen on Horſe-back, arm'd and ready to fight. And doubtleſs 'twas not without ſome Deſign that he paſs'd by this Houſe. He has a mind to coap with the Princes of the Blood: And queſtionleſs made account to fright us, and to ſhew that if* Guiſe *joyn'd in*

with

with Conti *his Kinſman, ours will be the weaker ſide.* 1611.
Soiſſons himſelf, being jealous of the great Advantages accruing to his Enemy's Family by the Heireſs of *Joieuſe*; was too apt to believe ſuch Stories. *Conde* being a little out of Humor for the Inequality of his and the Duke's Retinues, was much upon the ſame thought; and engag'd the Conſtable of *Montmorenci* in the Jealouſy, who had not yet forgot the ancient Feuds between his Brother the Marſhal and the *Guiſe*. Beſides, the Crouds of Lords and Gentlemen, repairing from all Corners to *Guiſe*'s Houſe, ſerv'd to inflame the Jealouſy of the two Princes and the Conſtable. They were amaz'd to ſee the Grand-children of Admital *Coligni*, the Dukes of *Sulli* and *Rohan*, the Marſhal of *Bouillon*, and the moſt conſiderable Men of the Proteſtant Intereſt, forget S. *Bartholomew*, and go to offer their Service to the Children of *Balafre*, againſt the Sons of the brave *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*.

The Regent and Miniſters of State were affraid of the dangerous Conſequences of this Affair. Orders were given for the Citizens in that Quarter to be in Arms; the Streets were ready to be chain'd up, in caſe of any occaſion; the Marſhal of *Briſſac* was ſent to confine *Soiſſons* in his own Houſe; and the Marquis of *Vitri* Captain of the Guards, was order'd to plant himſelf near the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brethren. *Soiſſons* was allow'd to ſpeak with the Queen; but *Guiſe* was not. A ſmall diſtinction to Humor the niceneſs of Princes of the Blood!

When the appeaſing of this new Quarrel was propos'd in the Council, the Conſtable demanded of the Queen Juſtice againſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had brav'd *Soiſſons* in paſſing by his Houſe with 150 Horſe. *Sulli* ſtood up for *Guiſe*. *What!* ſays he, *is paſſing by the Count's Houſe ſo great an Offence to him! Was not that the Duke's way for executing the Queen's Orders in ſpeaking with* Conti? *Many of his Friends and Servants accompanied him without any Deſign. A great many Perſons went to compliment the Duke upon his Marriage, and waited upon him to the Abby of* St. Germains. *Now, is that ſo extraordinary a thing. The Princes and Lords that come every day to the* Louvre, *are attended by Gentlemen that have a mind to pay their reſpects to 'em. The Duke is the Count's*

Servant.

1611. Servant. *He is very willing to give to the Princes of the Blood, whatever is due to their Birth. Had the Duke met him upon the Road, he had given him proof of his Reſpect. And what more can be deſir'd of the Duke of* Guiſe? *Sulli* was back'd by *Bouillon* and *Epernon*.

The Regent ſent to know of *Soiſſons* if the Apologies made for the Duke, gave him Satisfaction. But he was ſo far from being ſatisfied, that he denied Admiſſion to the four Members of the Privy Council, as being the Dukes Friends and Relations. So that there was a neceſſity of ſetting a Ngotiation on foot. The Duke of *Guiſe* was ſo uneaſy by being ſhut up in his Houſe ſo long, that he had already offer'd to give a Viſit to *Soiſſons*, and humbly make his Excuſe. But the Duke of *Mayenne* his Uncle remonſtrated to him the advantageous Conſequences that would accrue to the ſworn Enemy of their Family by ſo doing, and oblig'd him to eat in his Words. This inflam'd the Count's Anger; ſo that he threaten'd to the Regent to go from *Paris*, if he did not receive the Satisfaction that was offer'd. However it came to that iſſue, that *Soiſſons* was ſatisfied that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtould go to the Queen, and make the Duke's Excuſe for riding along the Streets of *Paris*, with ſo great a number of Horſe. Mr. *de Guiſe*, ſays *Mayenne*, *never deſign'd any commotion. He would chooſe rather to die, than enterpriſe any thing that might diſpleaſe your Majeſty. As for the Count of* Soiſſons, *our Family ſhall always obſerve the meaſures of honor and civility due to him. If the Count will live in a good Underſtanding with the Famiiy of the* Guiſes, *they'll honor him, and be his humble Servants.*

An Accomodation of the Quarrel between Soiſſons *and* Guiſe.

The Queen made anſwer, that ſhe'd acquaint the Count of *Soiſſons* with what he ſaid. *I'll tell him*, ſays ſhe, *to forget what's paſt, and take this for Satisfaction.* The Prince of *Conde* was ſent by the Queen to his Uncle, to acquaint him, that her Majeſty deſir'd the thing ſhould reſt where it was. *Soiſſons* promis'd to obey her Commands. Thus *Mayenne*, by his Addreſs and Courage, got his Nephew honorably clear of that tender Point. If 'twas ſo that the Duke of *Guiſe* had no ill Deſign, yet his oſtentation was but too likely to give umbrage to the Royal Family.

Sulli courted the *Guiſes* with all Submiſſion imagina-

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ble; but all to no purpoſe: for they could not with- 1612.
ſtand the Execution of his projected Fall. Indeed they Sulli *diſ-*
made a ſhew of rallying a little, in order to retard the *grac'd.*
Fall of a Man that had indeavor'd to ſerve 'em. But the Oppoſite Cabal was too ſtrong and too active. And 'tis poſſible the *Guiſes* were not cordial in ſupporting a Proteſtant Lord, that the Court of *Rome* and *Madrid* wiſh'd to be outted of his Great Places. The Duke's Enemies made uſe of the Marquis of *Coeuvres* to ſound *Bouillon*'s Mind concerning *Sulli*'s Diſgrace. One would have thought that the Intereſt of Religion ſhould have united two Proteſtant Lords. But Courtiers ſeldom think of that. *Sulli*, ſays the Marſhal, *deſerves all the Ill that can befall him. But I do not deſire to appear among his declar'd Enemies. My Intereſt is concern'd, that thoſe of our Religion ſhould not upbraid me with promoting the Diſgrace of a Man, that do's them good Service in the Poſt he's now in.* If *Bouillon* had ſeriouſly intended to avoid this Reproach, would he have ſtruck in with *Soiſſons*? Every Body juſtly thought that poor *Sulli* would fall a Victim to their mutual Friendſhip.

The Prince of *Conde* and Count *Soiſſons* did joyntly addreſs the Queen for his Removal. And ſhe eaſily comply'd with a Motion that ſhe was as fond of as they. She foreſaw that the *Huguenot* Party wou'd be amaz'd that ſhe ſhould ſo ſuddenly take from *Sulli* all the Rewards beſtow'd upon him by the late King for his good Services. In order to keep fair with them, it was given out that *Sulli* himſelf had ſued for a Retreat, and that the Regent fairly offer'd him a Summ of Mony for the Government of the *Baſtile*, and the Superintendance of the Revenues, from which he was to be remov'd. The Duke was ſtunn'd when he ſaw himſelf taken at his Word, upon ſome general Copmliments he had made to the Queen. On ſome certain Occaſions he had proteſted to her Majeſty, that ſhe might freely diſpoſe of all that he poſſeſs'd. *I did not dream*, ſays *Sulli, that ſuch offers made to one's Prince, were a ſufficient Crime for being turn'd out of all his Dignities. This teaches me a new Maxim. But I do not repent of having done my Duty.*

The Duke gave Proof of his Conſtancy in Adverſity; for he knew how to conceal the Commotion of his Mind.

1611. Mind. He wrote a Letter to the Queen full of fine Thoughts. Was not that a noble Flight of Pride lodg'd within a Man, who ſought to retrieve his Loſs by making himſelf admir'd. Perhaps he would have perſwaded the World, that he deſerv'd to be poſſeſs'd of the Places that he abandon'd with ſo much Indifference and Conſtancy. His Magnanimity would have ſeem'd leſs affected, if he had not added a long enumeration of Services done to the late King. That was upbraiding his Widow. He was proud of publiſhing to the World, that without augmenting or diminiſhing the Taxes and Cuſtoms, he had clear'd his Maſters vaſt Debts, put the Revenue in good Order, maintain'd three great Armies, and amaſs'd together 17000000 of ready Money. But the People would not take his word for't. The 54 Edicts that were recalled in the beginning of this Reign, were full Proof that the Overſeer had not yet hit upon the true Secret of enriching his Prince by eaſing the Subjects.

Preſident Harlai gives up his place. A Club oppoſes Mr. de Thou.

The Duke retreated to his Caſtle of *Sulli* upon the *Loire*. There was no Overſeer nominated; Preſident *Jeannin*, *Chateauneuf*, and *de Thou* being appointed Directors of the Revenue. But *de Thou* would not accept. It was not a proper place for a Magiſtrat of his Integrity, ſo zealous for the Publick Good, and a Lover of Ingeity. The Place of High Preſident to the Parliament of *Paris*, was an Object more worthy of his noble Ambition. *Chriſtopher de Thou* his Father had given him a great Reputation. His Memory had been altogether untainted, if the neceſſity of excuſing his Maſter had not oblig'd him to make uſe of ſome frivolous Pretences for colouring the cruel Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*, which that good Magiſtrate abhorr'd in his Heart. *Achilles de Harlai* his Son-in-law ſucceeded him, in the moſt unhappy and difficult Times that ever were. The Impreſſions of the Integrity, Diſcretion and Affability of that great Man do yet remain in the Peoples Memories. True French-men cannot let ſlip from their Memory the Services he did to his Country, at a time when ſhe was ready to ſink under the Efforts of the League.

Being worn out with Years and Fatigue, he had a mind to give up his Charge. All honeſt Men wiſh'd that *James Auguſtus de Thou* ſhould ſucceed his Father's Place.

Place. But the Regent had too much dependance upon the Pope. The Senſe and Moderation of ſo wiſe a Magiſtrate, did not ſuit with the Court of *Rome*. Beſides, they were very much concern'd in ſolliciting the Parliament of *Paris* againſt him. They had no mind that a Man, who knew the ſecret Intrigues of the Society as well as his Brother-in-law, ſhould preſide upon the Tryal of the Proceſs they had laid againſt the Univerſity of *Paris*. *Conde* being much oblig'd to Preſident *de Thou*, promis'd to ſupport his Prtenſions to a Dignity that was juſtly due to his Merit and Services. But the weak and ungrateful Prince had not the Courage to thwart a Club of Bigots. *Villeroy* found his Account in that opportunity, in preferring *Verdun*, a Friend of his, that ought to have contented himſelf with preſiding in the Parliament of *Tolouſe*. 1611.

Harlai, a few days before his reſignation, had preſided on the Tryal of Madam *de Eſcouman*. This Creature they ſay, wanted neither Wit nor Addreſs. But the Lewdneſs of her Life ought to have caſt her Teſtimony, if 'twere poſſible to employ any other than wicked Perſons in the Execution of great Crimes. It is not known what tempted her to preſent herſelf to Queen *Margaret*, whom ſhe had known before, and diſcover that the Duke of *Epernon* and the Marqueſs of *Vernueil* had ſuborn'd *Ravaillac*. I know not whether *Margaret* was one of thoſe that had a mind to undo thoſe two Perſons; or whether ſhe was afraid for her ſelf, in caſe ſhe had neglected to acquaint the Court with the Diſcovery. However ſhe ſent word to the Regent, that *Eſcouman* had great things to reveal. Perſons were nominated to repair to Queen *Margaret*'s Palace; where ſhe hid 'em in a Cloſet juſt by, while *Eſcouman* repeated what ſhe had ſaid before. *Margaret* witneſs'd that the Woman had not varied in one Point, but had told the very ſame ſtory before.

Eſcouman accuſes Epernon and Vernueil of the murder of Henry IV. and is condemn'd.

The Report being made to the Regent, ſhe diſpatch'd a Patent for the Parliament of *Paris* to inquire into the Truth of this new Diſcovery. *Eſcouman* being interogated by Preſident *Harlai*, accuſes two Men, one of whom had been *Valet de Chambre* to the Marqueſs *d' Entragues*. Theſe two Men are taken up, interrogated, impriſon'd, and confronted with *Eſcouman*. She ſtiffly ſtands to her Charge againſt 'em; and declar'd further, that *Vernueil* ſent *Ravaillac* to her with a

1611. Letter for Madam *du Tillet*; and that in her preſence Madam *du Tillet* ſpoke to *Ravaillac* to aſſaſſinate the late King. But ſhe was ſo incapable to make out what ſhe advanc'd, or to give any certain Deſcription of the Aſſaſſin's Perſon, and withal ſaid ſo many things that were evidently falſe, that they did not credit her Depoſition. The two Priſoners were clear'd, and Madam *d' Eſcouman* ſentenc'd to lie within four Walls all the Days of her Life.

Their precaution in ſhutting her up ſo cloſe, and keeping their Interrogatories very ſecret, gave occaſion to ſeveral ſuſpicious Conſtructions. It was commonly believ'd, that ſome Perſons of eminent Quality had a Hand in this Myſtery of Iniquity, and that it was thought not proper to reveal it. Others alledged, that they had a mind to ſpare the Reputation of ſome People of the firſt Rank, that had ſuborn'd *Eſcouman* in order to undo their Enemies. *A Woman*, ſaid they, *ſo lewd and ſo revengeful as Madam* Vernueil, *may be capable of any Crime. But is it poſſible that the Queen, who mortally hates the Marchioneſs, had a mind to ſpare her? Cou'd ſhe find a handſomer occaſion of being reveng'd of her ſcornful ill-natur'd Rival for all the affronts ſhe has giv'n her?---------- It is not in conſideration of the Duke of* Epernon, *that this Affair is ſtifled. He has great Enemies at Court,* Conde *and* Soiſſons *have openly declar'd againſt him.* Bouillon *and* Conchini *combine together to ruine him. If we reflect upon the whole Series of* Epernon's *conduct; upon his Humors; upon his Inclinations; it will appear that he is not capable of ſo black an Attempt. And ſuppoſing he were capable to hatch it, he is not ſo void of ſence, as to intruſt a fool like* Ravaillac *with the Execution. In fine, had he ſuborn'd the Aſſaſſin, wou'd he have taken ſo much pains to hinder his being kill'd, like* James Clement, *upon the ſpot.* Some who were leaſt prepoſſeſs'd, replyed: *It was not poſſible to perſecute the Duke of* Epernon, *without bringing in the Queen, whom he ſerved.* In *earneſt*, ſaid the others, *it had been a much ſurer and eaſier way to have poiſon'd the King, than to have left an Affair of ſuch Importance to the Reſolution and Diſcretion of ſuch a fellow as* Ravaillac.

The Diviſions of the Court of *Prague* were yet greater then thoſe of *Paris*; and the Princes of Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany* liv'd in a greater Miſunderſtanding between

tween one another, than that of the Royal Family in *France*. The Emperour *Redolph* had three Brethren, *Matthias*, *Albert* and *Maximilian*. The firſt ſnatch'd from his Elder Brother the Kingdom of *Hungary* and a great part of what the Houſe of *Auſtria* calls their Hereditary Countries. *Albert* was content with the *Netherlands* brought him by his Marriage to *Iſabel*: And *Maximilian*, after having long diſputed with *Sigismund* King of Sweden for the Kingdom of *Poland*, was oblig'd to drop his Pretenſions, and live a retir'd Life with *Matthias* King of *Hungary*. The four Brethren had two Couſins, Sons to *Charles*, brother to the Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond. The little Demeſne of *Stiria* did not ſatisfie the Ambition of *Ferdinand* the elder Brother of that ſecond Branch. *Leopold* his Brother was above the Biſhoprick of *Strasburgh* and *Paſſau*. *Rodolph* and his Brethren had no Children. This gave great, tho' uncertain Hopes to their Couſins. For this Year the King of *Hungary* married *Ann* Archdutcheſs of *Auſtria*, and 'twas poſſible that he might have Heirs.

1611. *The Condition of the Houſe of* Auſtria *in* Germany.

Ferdinand dexterouſly conceal'd his boundleſs Ambition. He contented himſelf in the mean while with managing the Pope, and maintaining a good Correſpondence with the King of *Spain*, and patiently waited for a more favourable occaſion of ſucceeding to his Couſins. The Emperour was look'd upon as a Dead Man. The Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, were diſpleas'd that he ſhould court the Proteſtants ſo much, to favour him in the election of a Succeſſour to his Brother. Perhaps his inclination led him to follow the ſteps of *Maximilian* II. a very moderate and wiſe Prince. He had a good Opinion of the Proteſtant Religion; and 'tis believ'd he wou'd have embrac'd it, had not he met with oppoſition from *Ferdinand* I. and the Court of *Rome*. The Emperour his Father, being egg'd on by the Pope, threatn'd to diſinherit *Maximilian*. But put the caſe that the Son had ſtood out, I queſtion if they durſt offer to diſinherit him. *Ferdinand* the Archduke of *Grats* came very far ſhort of *Maximilian*'s Moderation. He was prodigiouſly bigotted againſt the Proteſtants. The Jeſuits and ignorant Monks, who had too much intereſt in the Council of this Prince and his Succeſſors, inſpir'd him with the warmeſt Sentiments, and flatter'd with Aſſiſtance from the Pope and King of *Spain* to raiſe him to the

1611. Empire, ev'n before thoſe of the Elder Branch were dead.

The ambitious Deſigns of Leopold *Biſhop of* Strasbourg *upon the Kingdom of* Bohemia.

Archduke *Leopold* was equally ambitious, but more impatient. He was vex'd to ſee himſelf reduc'd to live upon the Revenue of the Benefices they had procur'd to him, and to find that the great Deſigns upon *Cleves* and *Juliers* had prov'd abortive: He took up a Reſolution of making the beſt uſe of *Rodolph*'s Weakneſs, and had an Eye upon the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to the Prejudice of *Matthias*, who was to have that Town after the Emperor's Death. He had rais'd a little Army with *Rodolph*'s Conſent; under the Pretence of going to ſuccour *Juliers* againſt the Confederate Princes. The Town being taken by the brave *Maurice* of *Orange*, he kept up the Troops of his own Biſhoprick of *Paſſau*, thinking to make uſe of 'em, upon ſome greater and more uſeful Deſign.

Romeo their General was as uneaſy and turbulent as *Leopold*; he perſwaded him to ſet on foot a Treaty with his Friends at the Court of *Prague*, and above all with the *Roman* Catholicks of *Bohemia*, who were diſoblig'd by the free Exerciſe of Religion granted to the *Evangelici*. *Leopold*'s firſt thought was to get the Government of *Prague* alter'd, and the Lords of the King of *Hungary*'s Faction remov'd from the Emperor's Council. But upon ſecond thoughts the thing was found impracticable, in a free State ſuch as *Bohemia* was. He was oblig'd to content himſelf with gaining the Catholick Party, and above all, the Eccleſiaſticks and Monks, by making them believe that if he came over to *Prague* at the head of an Army, he would oblige the Emperor to recal the Edict granted to the *Evangelici*. The Jeſuits were forwardeſt in favouring *Leopold*'s Deſigns; and provided their College with Cannon, Arms and Ammunition to be made uſe of in caſe of Neceſſity.

Leopold's *Troops advance to* Bohemia.

Leopold's Army conſiſted of 9000 Foot and 4000 Horſe. *Romeo* having found out Ways for getting the Soldiers ſome Mony, march'd with them towards *Auſtria*. Where they pillag'd ſome conſiderable Caſtles. The King *Matthias* was the more allarm'd, that he was not in a Condition to reſiſt. Immediatly he writ to his Subjects and Friends to give him ſpeedy Aſſiſtance. In the mean time *Romeo* paſſes the *Danube* at *Lintz*, and ravages the Country in his Way; at length he advances to *Bohemia*,

mia, under the Pretence of raiſing the Subſidies, which the Emperor had promis'd to *Leopold* for the Subſiſtence of his Troops. He ſurpriz'd two or three important Places; and *Leopold* joyns him juſt before the Gates of the Metropolitan. The States of the Country, being ſtunn'd at the unexpected Motion, prepar'd for Defence. The *Evangelici* were more active and forward than the reſt, they were mightily afraid of coming under the Government of any of the Houſe of *Gratz*. But he could not prevent *Leopold*'s Entry into the third Part of the City, call'd *Little Prague*. He had many Friends there. But the *Old* and *New Prague* defended themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that *Leopold* could not reach 'em. 1611.

During the Diſorders that ſuch an Accident may occaſion in a Town divided into two Parties ſo extremely hot, *Rodolph* kept within his Caſtle. He contented himſelf with Summoning in both one and the other by a Herauld to lay down their Arms, as if he had a mind to ſit neuter. His old Grudge againſt his Brother, made him favour *Leopold*, who carry'd the Caſtle, and was declar'd the Emperor's Lieutenant General. The King of *Hungary* at that time was engag'd in a Diſpute with *Gabriel Baſſovi* Prince of *Tranſylvania*. He choſe rather to drop that, than to loſe *Bohemia*. Accordingly he approaches at the Head of an Army of 18000 Men. So ſoon as *Leopold* and *Romeo* heard that *Matthias* was come into the Kingdom, they retir'd ſpeedily to the Frontiers of *Bohemia*, carrying with them their Booty, and 300000 Florens that the Emperor had given 'em. The King of *Hungary* being arriv'd at *Prague*, was receiv'd by the States of the Country with all poſſible Magnificence. Matthias *marches to relieve* Bohemia.

After the Impriſonment and Baniſhment of ſome of *Rodolph*'s Counſellors, *Rodolph* was eaſily perſwaded to reſign the Crown to his Brother. Upon the Sollicitation of the Elector of *Saxony*, who always befriended the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that poor Prince obtain'd pretty good Terms. The States of *Bohemia* propos'd to the new King ſome Terms on their own behalf, for enſuring the Priviledges of the Kingdom and the Liberty of Conſcience. The Town of *Prague* ſtipulated ſome particular things for themſelves, eſpecially that Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction ſhould be reſtrain'd, and its Abuſes corrected. *Matthias* being ſolemnly Crown'd at *Prague*, Matthias *crown'd King of* Bohemia.

May

1611. *May* 23. by Cardinal *Ditrichſtein*, made an Agreement with *Leopold*, who was yet Maſter of the moſt Important Places. *Leopold* promis'd to quit 'em for a Sum of Mony; which accordingly he had. In fine, the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* having agreed upon Articles of a perfect Reconciliation with his Brothers, ſets out for *Breſlau*, in order to take poſſeſſion of *Sileſia*, which was likewiſe reſign'd to him. The Biſhop of the City, the Lords and the States of the Province, took the Oath of Fidelity to him; and the new Sovereign for his part ſwore to preſerve their Priviledges, and allow 'em the free Exerciſe of their Religion as before.

A Cabal in France *againſt* Epernon.

The Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria* liv'd the remaining part of this Year in a good Underſtanding with their Foreign Neighbours. The Royal Family in *France* did the ſame. *Conde* and *Soiſſons* were not content to have ruin'd *Sulli*, but had a mind to play *Epernon* the ſame Trick. The Marquiſs of *Ancre* embarks in the ſame Deſign. He promis'd to *Soiſſons* to procure the removal of a Man that was inſufferable to all the Favorites; for, in effect, *Epernon* did truly hate them all; thinking that no body but he could merit the Royal Favour. *Conchini* being provok'd by the Duke's Contemptuouſneſs, reſolv'd to humble the Gentleman that ow'd his Riſe to the Favour of *Henry* III. and was become more proud than the Princes of the Blood. The more that *Epernon* felt the diminution of his Intereſt at Court, the more he affected to ſhew the Princes of the Blood, that if they wou'd not love him, they ought at leaſt to fear him. After *Soiſſons* had threatned to affront him, he walk'd often in the Streets of *Paris* accompanied by 7 or 800 Gentlemen. Sometimes he took pleaſure in walking afoot to the *Louvre*, and then his Troop march'd in Battalia Order. The Van of his Retinue enter'd the *Louvre* Gate, before the Rear could March out of *Epernon* Houſe; tho' the diſtance was above 200 Paces.

Joieuſe *and* Epernon *reſolve to retreat from the Court.*

In the midſt of this External Spendor, he was cruelly gall'd within for his removal from buſineſs. Card. *Joieuſe*, who ſtood only by the Duke's Intereſt, had reſolv'd to go to *Rome*, to divert himſelf in Chapels and Congregations; ſince there was no more buſineſs for him in the Court of *France*. *Epernon* deſir'd leave to repair to his Eſtate and Governments; which he obtain'd with ſome freſh marks of Truſt and Diſtinction ſhew'd him by the Queen. The P. of *Conde* had a mind to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Guienne*; and nothing was capable

pable ro ſhake his Reſolution. His Reſoluteneſs gave umbrage to the Court. The *Proteſtants* at that time had a Political Meeting at *Saumur*; and the *Regent* knew not but *Conde* might have ſome ſecret Deſign to make uſe of that opportunity, conſidering that it was in the Neighbourhood. They were very glad that *Epernon* went to his Governments of *Limoſin*, *Angoumois*, and *Zantonge*, by *Guienne*. The Queen gave him a thouſand Careſſes, and earneſtly deſir'd him to have a watchful Eye upon *Conde*'s motions. Such Precaution was ſcarce needful. The honeſt Prince meant no harm. He was over content to appear King of the Theatre at *Bordeaux* and elſewhere. He deſir'd no greater Charm than to ſee himſelf receiv'd with ſo great Ceremonies, when he went and took his place in Parliament, and made Progreſſes thro' the Towns; and gravely heard the Harangues and Complements of the *Gaſcon* Magiſtrates and Gentlemen. 1611.

The Marquis of Ancre *thinks to marry his Son to a Princeſs of* Soiſſons.

Soiſſons was almoſt the only Man that manag'd the Regent. The Marquis of *Ancre*, whoſe Intereſt increas'd daily, ſeem'd to be inſeparably united to him. The Count being glad of engaging ſo great a Favorite in his Intereſts, rendred him all good Offices. By his Aſſiſtance the Marquis got the Government of the Town and Cittadel of *Amiens*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Miniſters of State, and the Count of St. *Paul*. This Lord being a Cadet of the Houſe of *Longueville*, pretended to that Poſt; but *Soiſſons* ſtanding for the Marquis, was too hard for him. Nay, he oblig'd St. *Paul* to return from *Piccardy*, where he govern'd during the Nonage of the Duke of *Longueville*; for fear any difference ſhould ariſe if he and the new Governour ſhould happen to meet together upon the place. *Conchini*'s Greatneſs was ſuch, that nothing could go beyond him. There was a Report of a Marriage between his Son and one of the Princeſſes of *Soiſſons*. When a certain Gentleman ſpoke to *Conchini* of it; *Ye have a mind to flatter me*, replies he; *but I muſt needs own, that Flattery is not diſagreeable to me.*

Soiſſons *embraces the Offer.*

His affected Modeſty did not trouble him long. He had the Boldneſs to tell the Marquiſs *de Coeuvres*, the Count's Confident, that he began to think of the Marriage that was ſpoken of; that a Prince of the Blood would be advantag'd by it; and that the Queen had given her conſent. *Soiſſons* was ſo mean ſpirited as to accept of the ſcandalous Alliance. But he was deſervedly puniſh'd for it. The Miniſters of State repreſented to the Queen the Conſequences of a Marriage, that would, one day or other, be reſented by the King, the Princes, and all Men of Senſe. So that the Count of *Soiſſons* got nothing by the Bargain, but the Scandal and Reproach of having conſented to proſtitute his Daughter to an *Italian*, whoſe Father and Mother quickly became the Horror of Human-kind. He was far ſhort of *Epernon*'s Wiſdom and Generoſity, whoſe Birth was inferiour to that of a Prince of the Blood. *Conchini* had propos'd the Mariage of

his

1611. his Daughter to the Marquiſs *de la Valette* the Duke's ſecond Son. Beſides the great Fortune he was to give his Daughter, the Favorite promis'd to obtain the Sword of a Conſtable for *Epernon*, as ſoon as the King were of Age. The Duke was ſo far from liſtening to his Friends and Servants who adviſ'd him to accept the Propoſal; that he rejected it with a noble diſdain; and was angry with thoſe who preſs'd him to make an Alliance, which, the higheſt Dignity in the State tack'd to it as reward, render'd yet more Scandalous.

Joieuſe's Inſtructions for Rome.

Cardinal *Joieuſe* colour'd his Journey to *Rome*, with a pretence of an Obligation to go thither to perform the Functions belonging to the Dignity of *Protector of France*; a pompous and riduculous Title invented by the pride of the Court of *Rome*, and continu'd by the baſe complaiſance of Soveraigns. Like *Monks*, they muſt all have a Cardinal *Protector* about the Pope. A Subject at *Rome* becomes the *Protector* of his Prince, becauſe he is his Agent. At that time the Regent was diverting herſelf at *Fountainbleau*; where ſhe caus'd a long Paper of Inſtructions for the Cardinal to be drawn up. Such Papers cannot be read without complaining, or rather without diſpiſing thoſe Crown'd Heads, that tamely ſuffer the Impoſition of ſo ſtrange a Servitude. A King forſooth muſt give an account to the Holy Father of all the Orders he Iſſues out at home for the good of his States, and of all the Alliances he contracts abroad for their Safety. If there be any thing that's diſreliſh'd by the Court of *Rome*, he muſt look out for Excuſes and Evaſions to clear himſelf: He muſt be very Pliant, and promiſe upon all other occaſions to do Wonders for the good of the Holy See.

The Regent juſtifies her ſelf to Paul V. *for her indulgence to the* Proteſtants.

There was a great deal of ſtuff in the Cardinals Inſtructions. The Regent deſires him to inform the Pope of all that was acted during her Regency, without omitting the minuteſt Circumſtance. To juſtifie the Edict given in Confirmation of that of *Nantes*, ſhe orders him to repreſent, that the neceſſity of preventing the diſaffection of the Proteſtants, and putting a ſtop to ſome uneaſy and turbulent Spirits extorted it from her. As to the leave given for a Political Aſſembly, 'twas impoſſible to do otherwiſe in the time of a Minority. To attone for that, ſhe promiſes to grant the Huguenots nothing that ſhe can keep from them. As for the Places and Favours beſtowed on ſome Proteſtant Lords, ſhe deſires he would repreſent to the Pope, that ſhe was forc'd to do ſo, to gain the Heads of the Party. As for the Parliaments Act for ſuppeſſing *Bellarmin's* Book againſt *Barclai*, which the Pope took ſo unkindly; ſhe was much troubled about it; but to make amends, ſhe had interpos'd her Authority to keep the *Sorbon* from giving the warm Cenſure they had deſign'd againſt *Bellarmin's* Propoſitions. She would not have granted the like Favour to the Proteſtants. What Tricks! What Meanneſs! But this is not all.

The

They excus'd their renewing Alliances with Proteſtant Princes and States, by colouring them with the common good of *Chriſtendom*; they pleaded the example of the King of *Spain*, who concluded a Truce with the United Provinces. They promiſed to improve their intereſt with the Proteſtant Electors and Princes of *Germany*, on behalf of *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, whom the Court of *Rome* and that of *Madrid* would have preferr'd to be choſen King of the *Romans*. In fine, they endeavour'd to perſwade the old Gentleman, that they had a deſign of forming a moſt powerful League againſt the *Turks*, and hop'd to retain to it, the King of *Great Britain*, the *United Provinces*, *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, and the other Princes of the Houſe of *Naſſau*. *Theſe Princes*, ſaid the Queen, *are ſo fond of Glory, that they'll willingly embrace that opportunity of adding to the ſhare they've already purchaſed by their Valour.* The Character ſhe gave of *King James* I. muſt not be omitted, *I own*, ſays ſhe, *that Prince does cruelly perſecute the Catholicks: But after all, he's a Prince that is all for Peace. He does not covet to purchaſe Greatneſs by oppreſſing his Neighbours; he declares himſelf an Enemy to all Subjects that revolt from their Sovereigns. Were he but aſſured of the Fidelity and Affections of his* Engliſh *Papiſts, he would not diſturb their repoſe. And ſince he is a declar'd Adverſary to the Calviniſts, 'tis preſumed he'll turn to favor the Catholicks, as ſoon as they forbear to give him the leaſt occaſion of ſuſpicion or diſtruſt.*

The Complaints of the Court of France *againſt the Duke of* Savoy.

The principal Articles of theſe Inſtructions concerned the *Duke* of *Savoy*, who at that time threatned the Town of *Geneva*, and the Country *de Vaux*, belonging to the *Canton* of *Bern*. The Queen deſir'd they ſhould repreſent to his Holineſs, that the unquietneſs and ambition of the *Savoyard*, might raiſe a new War in *Europe*, and by that means prevent the concluſion of the League they were carrying on againſt the common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*: that ſince *Henry* III. and

Henry IV. had engaged the Protection of their Crown, to the Town of *Geneva* and that Country, their ſucceſſor was oblig'd in Honour and Juſtice to defend both the one and the other, in caſe the *Duke* of *Savoy* offer'd to moleſt 'em. *He*, continues the Queen, *boaſts that his Holineſs approves and favours theſe his deſigns. This is not likely: The Pope knows better than any body elſe, the Genius, Power and Credit of* Charles Emmanuel. *His undertaking cannot ſucceed: No man can well tell what are his Projects; if we ask him why he keeps ſo great a Standing Army, he anſwers, that ſince the* Spaniards *keep an Army in* Milan, *Prudence obliges him to provide for the ſafety of his Country. When the Catholick Cantons of* Swiſſerland *put in the ſame queſtion; his Miniſters gave anſwer, that their Maſter deſigned to reſtore the Biſhops of* Geneva *and* Lauzanne *to their former rights. He promiſes one thing to us, and with the ſame breath engages for the contrary with the King of* Spain. *Beſides, we have great reaſon to ſuſpect a ſecret Intelligence between the Proteſtants of* France *and other Countries. At preſent we ſee he is buſie upon the Intrigue of Allying himſelf with the King of* England *by a double intermarriage.* In order to underſtand this Article of the Inſtructions, 'twill be needful to look a little further back, and trace the various Proceedings of *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, after the Death of *Henry* IV.

The Duke of Savoy's *troubles after the Death of* Henry IV.

That ſurpriſing Accident embaraſs'd him ſo much, that he play'd a hundred different games, what to appeaſe the provoked Court of *Spain*, what to ſecure a powerful ſupport upon the Borders of *France*, and, in fine, to gratifie, in ſome meaſure, his boundleſs Ambition. At firſt he thought to have obtained from the Queen Regent a freſh confirmation of the promiſe *Henry* had made him to marry his Eldeſt Daughter to the Prince of *Piemont*, whom *Henry* had preferr'd to the *Spaniſh* Prince propoſed to him. He us'd to ſay, and that with a great deal of ſenſe, *That his Son might be a great King, tho' his Daughters were not Queens.*

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

How-

However they amus'd *Charles Emmanuel* with fair words, and at the ſame time treated under-hand with King *Philip*. So ſoon as the Duke perceived that, he complained heavily to the Court of *France*; but they were ſo far from regarding his complaint, that the Queen Regent demanded of him all the Writings that had been drawn up concerning the Marriage that *Henry* the IV. projected.

The other Princes of Italy *are as much in trouble as the Duke of* Savoy.

The other *Italian* Soveraigns were not leſs perplexed than the Duke of *Savoy*. The Republic of *Venice* and ſome others, had ſided with *Henry* in his deſigns towards the *Alps*. But ſo ſoon as they received the News of his execrable Aſſaſſination, they were all of 'em equally ſtruck with fear, leaſt the King of *Spain* being thus rid of a formidable Enemy, ſhould attempt a downright Conqueſt of *Italy*, under the pretext of puniſhing the Duke of *Savoy* and the others that ſided with *Henry* in expelling the *Spaniards* from *Milan*. *Paul* V. being frighted, ſent for the *Venetian* Embaſſador, *Write immediately*, ſays he, *to the Republick, and give 'em to know, that I beg of them for Gods ſake to let us all be of one mind in this perplexing juncture. Our buſineſs is to concert the neceſſary meaſures for the preſervation of* Italy, *and even of the new King of* France, *for I ſee he is in great danger. The* Spaniards *will uſe all the means imaginable to perplex his Affairs. As for me, I am ready to aſſiſt in concerting, and appear joyntly with the Republick.*

Siri *Memoire Recond. tom.* 2. p. 285. 286.

The cautious Conduct of the Venetians.

In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* diſpatched his Secretary to *Venice*, in order to preſs the Senate, with all poſſible earneſtneſs and ſpeed, to enter into an offenſive and defenſive League againſt *Spain*. He remonſtrated that, *They were raiſing freſh Troops already, and diſtributed Money to purchaſe Officers for the Service: That the Duke his maſter was ſenſible theſe Preparations were pointed at him, more than any body elſe; That he was fully reſolved to ſubject himſelf to the* Turk, *rather than to the* Spaniard; *to continue ſteddy in the in-*

Siri *Mem. Recond. com.* 2. p. 288. 291.

tereſts of France, *and defend himſelf to the laſt gaſp 'Tis your buſineſs to conſider,* ſays he, *if his fall is not like to be followed by that of the Republick. The ſpeedy concluſion of an offenſive and defenſive League, is the only means to prevent the impending miſery that equally threatens you all.* The *Venetians* being well acquainted with the force of *Spain*, were not ſo ſoon alarmed. Their opinion was, that before they declared their mind too openly, they ſhould be aſſured of the concurrence of *France*, where the minority of the King might alter the face of Affairs. In order to oblige *Mary de Medicis* to declare her mind, the Republick made her a handſom Propoſal of the offenſive and defenſive League againſt *Spain*. She had no mind to purſue *Henry*'s deſigns, and therefore roundly told the Senate, That *the non-age of her Son would not allow her to imbarque in a foreign War. If the Senate,* continues ſhe, *have a mind to make a defenſive League for the ſafety of* Italy, *we are ready to ſhew our Ancient Allies, that we deſire nothing more, than to preſerve and inſure the tranquility they enjoy.*

After this Declaration the Senate very wiſely anſwered the Duke of *Savoy*, that in the preſent juncture of Affairs, it was very important that all the Soveraigns of *Italy* ſhould live in a good underſtanding one with another, and think of providing for their common ſafety. *But*, they added, *'twas to be feared that new Leagues would ſerve only to provoke the* Spaniards, *and inlarge the diſtruſt and jealouſie of a Crown that ſtood as much and more in need of Peace than her Neighbours.* Theſe wiſe Politicians, and the ancient Miniſters of *Henry* IV. knew that the Power of *Spain* was not to be feared, and that there was more oſtentation than reality in the Proceedings of the Court of *Madrid*. The death of Count *de Fuentes* happening about the ſame time, animated their Courage. They reckon'd that *Spain* could not find a Subject ſo capable (as he) to maintain the Reputation of the Crown, and ſo happily to cover the weakneſs of *Philip* III. and the Duke *de Lerme*, his

his first Minister. *Peter Guzman* of *Toledo* Count of *Fuentes*, aged 85 Years, died *July* 22, 1610. He was a Man of an uncommon capacity, and admirably well vers'd in Political and Military Affairs. He gained a great deal of Reputation in the Campaignes in *Piccardy* towards the end of the preceding Century, especially at the taking of *Cambray*: But his close pursuit of *Philip* II. his Master's measures, sullyed the Glory of all his Peaceful and Military qualities.

Charles Emmanuel being the boldest, and withal, the most uncautious Prince in *Italy*, in declaring against *Spain*, was likewise the first and principal object of that Court's revenge. First of all they demanded the *Spanish* Troops, which were in his Service. He presently smelled they had a mind to pick a quarrel with him: However, being assured of speedy succor from the Mareschal *Lesdiguieres*, who commanded in *Dauphiny*; he was not at all daunted with their threats. He spake not only like a Man resolute for a brave defence, but implyed that he would vigorously go on to pursue the designs he had concerted before *Henry*'s Death. The whole World was so far sensible that *that* Superiority of Spirit and Force that formerly rendered *Spain* formidable, was entirely wanting in *Philip* III. This, I say, they were all so sensible of, that Princes much inferior to him were not afraid to insult over him.

The designs of Spain against Savoy.

Siri *Mem. Recond. tom.* 2. p. 282, 304, *&c.*

Had the Duke of *Savoy* been more prudent and less deceitful, his despising the *Spanish* threats, might have pass'd with impunity. He saw plainly that *France* avoided a rupture with *Spain*, and that the Regent at most would only stir to prevent his total oppression. Therefore he ought not to have irritated a Neighbour that was still more powerful than himself. While he negotiated with *Mary de Medicis*, in order to obtain the late Kings promise, he entertained a secret Correspondence with the Count *de Soissons*, the disaffected Lords and the Heads of the Protestant Party, with a design to embroil *France* in a Civil War. He persua-

The imprudence and double dealing of the Duke of Savoy.

ded himſelf that the King of *Spain* would be glad to court him to an Accommodation; and with that view inſinuated to the Court of *Madrid*, that if they had a mind to grant him good conditions, he would do them an uſeful piece of Service againſt *France*. But his deceit was quickly ſeen through both by the one and the other. Being equally ſuſpected and hated in all the Courts of *Europe*, he had the mortification of being humbled in *Spain*, deſpis'd in *France* and *Italy*, and hated by his own People, whom he ruined by his Chimerical Projects.

Several Negotiations in order to oblige the King of Spain *and Duke of* Savoy *to lay down arms in* Italy.

While theſe Intrigues were carrying on, the *Spaniard* continued in Arms in *Italy*, and the Duke of *Savoy* maintained a conſiderable force of men: A vaſt perplexity to *France*, and to the *Italian* Princes. The Regent was extremely impatient to disband the Army in *Dauphiny*, commanded by a Proteſtant General; but in this juncture Prudence would not allow her to do ſo. The Pope was mightily afraid leaſt the Mareſhal *Leſdiguieres* ſhould croſs the *Alps*, under the colour of coming to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*. When *Mary* urged the Duke to lay down arms, he demanded certain conditions, which ſhe had no mind to allow. The Pope alſo employed all his Intereſt with the King of *Spain* and Duke of *Savoy* to perſwade them to diſmiſs their Troops, which were the occaſion of much uneaſineſs both to *France* and *Italy*. *Philip* pretended the Duke ſhould diſarm firſt, and give him ſatisfaction. The Duke again remonſtrated that 'twas the buſineſs of a weaker State to be upon its guard, when a powerful Neighbour ſeemed to threaten it; ſo that upon the whole, all the difference ſeemed to conſiſt in Ceremonials. However, Men of ſenſe were afraid of a Colluſion. The Duke being extreamly diſſatisfied with the Regent, did ſeriouſly think of ſiding with the *Spaniard*, and talked of ſending Prince *Philibert* his Son to *Madrid*.

Siri *mem. Rec. tom.* 2. p. 335. 336, *&c.*

Whether

Whether the Court of *Spain* was aſſur'd that the Regent of *France* was willing they ſhould humble the Duke of *Savoy*, providing they did him no harm; or whether *Philip* had abſolutely a mind to reduce his Brother-in-Law, who continued very bold and brisk, even when he courted for his favour. Whatever was the ground of it, ſo it was, that the Duke receiv'd advice from *Madrid* that his Catholick Majeſty was particularly inform'd of his League with the late King of *France*. Before he would liſten to any terms of accomodation, he demanded a very mortifying Preliminary of the Duke; namely, that he ſhould ſend his Children, or at leaſt ſome of 'em, to *Madrid*, as Hoſtages of their Father's fidelity; and beſides, that he ſhould beg pardon for his ſecret Treaties with *France*, to the prejudice of the Crown of *Spain*.

The K. of Spain firſt demands ſatisfaction of the D. of Savoy.

Siri mem. Rec. Tom. 2. c. 336. 337.

The Duke immediately call'd a Counſel. They could think of no better way of geting free from this hard Condition, than to ſolicit *France* to ſend him Succor with all poſſible Speed: For the Spaniſh Army in *Milan* ſeem'd to prepare for falling upon *Piemont*. *Leſdiguieres* gave the Duke good words; but *Mary de Medicis* was ſo far from making a rupture with *Spain* to oblige him, that ſhe plainly adviſ'd him to ſend his Son *Philibert* to *Madrid* to appeaſe King *Philip*. In this faſhion the two Courts made their ſport of a Man that thought he had a long enough head to cheat 'em both. In fine the Duke found himſelf oblig'd to acquaint the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at *Turin*, that he was ready to give ſatisfaction to the King his Brother-in-Law. He only deſir'd they ſhould agree upon a Ceſſation of Arms, or that he ſhould give him ſome aſſurance that the Governour of *Milan* would enterpriſe nothing againſt *Piemont*, till the King was ſatisfied. Inſtead of liſtening to the Duke's Propoſal they requir'd that he ſhould renounce all his Treaties with *France*, even that of the Marriage of his Son not excepted. In fine, *Philip*'s Officers at *Milan* told him, they had no orders to agree to a Ceſſation of

Vie due Connet. de Leſdig. liv. 7. cap. 1.

Arms, or to grant him the assurance he proposed.

France lays down Arms in Dauphiny. *But is jealous of the Spaniards continuing in Arms in* Italy.

Upon the Pope's sollicitations, *Mary de Medices* disbanded the Army under the Marshal *Lesdiguieres* in *Dauphiny*. Her Counsel agreed to it willingly, because they were fully perswaded, *Spain* would never dare to commence a War in *Italy*. How could he carry on that War, that had not the Courage to oppose the taking of *Juliers* by the Confederate Princes?

Philip had assured the Pope, his design was only to check and mortifie the Duke, and constrain him to make satisfaction. The other Princes were not ill pleas'd to see the Duke's Pride Humbl'd. In the mean time he exhausted himself insensibly, by keeping up his Troops till the King of *Spain* would disband his. Who knew that *Philip* would not attempt to possess himself of *Piemont*, after having tyr'd out the Duke of *Savoy*, and cuninngly engag'd the Regent to disband her Troops, that were quartered towards the Alps.

The Privy Council of *France* were of Opinion that it was expedient the Queen should openly testifie that she had no intentions to abandon the Interests of the Duke of *Savoy*, that she could in a small time reassemble her dispers'd Troops, and that she would send powerful Assistance to *Piemont*, if the Spaniards should make any attempt upon it. The Duke of *Savoy* was extreamly pleas'd, to understand that the Queen Regent had written to the Pope to complain that the King of *Spain* continued in Arms, tho *France* had disbanded her Forces in *Dauphiny*; and to let his Holiness know the constant resolution made in Council to defend the Dominions of *Savoy*. But the Duke of *Feria* the Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary in *France*, had already establish'd so close a Correspondence, betwixt the King his Master and *Mary de Medicis*, that the Pope found but little difficulty to dispell the Fears that the Queen seem'd to entertain, and to dispose her to a patient expectation

tion of the ſucceſs of Prince *Philibert*'s Journy into *Spain*.

He went by the way of *Lions* and *Bourdeaux*, attended by Count *Verue*, and the Biſhop of St. *John* of *Maurrienne*: His Father having ordered them to aſſiſt and conduct him in a buſineſs of ſuch moment. The Prince arriv'd by Poſt at *Madrid*, without receiving on the King his Uncle's part the leaſt Civility, or any mark of Reſpect in the Spaniſh Towns through which he paſs'd. It ſeem'd as if they deſign'd to prepare him to appear as an humble Supplicant, to give ſatisfaction to a great King juſtly incenſed againſt a petty Prince. Afterwards he was made ſenſible how nice he muſt be in humouring the Spaniſh Pride. At the firſt interview King *Philip* gave a very obliging Reception to his Nephew; But ſpoke not a word of the Duke of *Savoy*, nor ask'd him any News; and tho he ſeem'd deſirous of underſtanding the Condition of the Princes and Princeſſes of *Savoy*, yet no mention was made of their Father.

Prince Philibert goes to Spain.

Siri mem. Rec. tom. 1. P. 416, 417.

The greater difficulty was how to behave in the ſecond Audience. A ſubmiſſion was to be made, but ſuch as might at once both ſatisfie the Spaniſh humour, and withall not be too mean and unbecoming a Duke of *Savoy*, who was alſo extremly nice in the point of Honour. The young Prince prepar'd an Harangue ſuitable to the Inſtructions he had receiv'd, being aſſiſted therein by the Count of *Verue* and the Biſhop: And deliver'd it without Book with a very graceful carriage. It was attended with Demonſtrations of all the Reſpect and Snbmiſſion that the Dignity of a Prince could allow. The King did not appear at all to be diſſatisfied with it: But the Duke of *Lerma* and the Grandees of *Spain* took it very ill, that *Philibert* did not fall on his Knees before the King, to beg a Pardon for the Duke of *Savoy*. *Lerma* made grievous complaints, and requir'd the Prince ſhould make ſatisfaction by writing. But the Grandees would have him do it in a Speech, a draught where-

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of they had prepared on purpoſe to be recited by him before the King.

The *Savoyards* did all they could to prevent a thing they thought ſo diſparaging to their Prince; but the Spaniards were not to be mov'd from their purpoſe: And *Philibert* was very roughly entertain'd, till ſuch time as he ſhould conſent to their Demand. The Count of *Verue* thought fit to repreſent that the Prince had acted up to his Fathers Inſtructions, and that he had no orders to make ſuch ſubmiſſions as were requir'd. The Spaniards were pleas'd to fancy that the Prince had yet another Inſtruction in reſerve, with reference to his demeanor, in caſe the King ſhould remain unſatisfied after what was ordered in the former. But howſoever that might be, they knew that the Duke of *Savoy* would always be in a condition to diſallow his Son's actions.

Infine, after a great deal of labour to no purpoſe *Philibert* and his Council were neceſſitated to agree upon the following Form, which was almoſt entirely compos'd by the Spaniards. *Sir, Said the Prince of* Savoy, *the Duke my Lord and Father, hath ſent me hither to throw my ſelf at your Majeſty's feet; he being hindred by his Age and the ſtate of his Affairs to come himſelf in perſon; to intreat upon my Knees that your Majeſty would be pleas'd to accept of the ſatisfaction that I now make. I have no words, Great Sir, forcible enough to expreſs the extremity of Grief which the loſs of your Majeſties Favour has occaſion'd to the Duke my Father. I once again lay my ſelf at your Majeſties feet, with a reſolution not to riſe, tho I ſhould dy on my Knees, till your Majeſty be pleas'd to vouchſafe me the deſired Favour: Namely, that you would take into your Royal Protection the Duke my Father, with all our Houſe. Hereby, Sir, you will ſignalize your Clemency, in pardoning the greateſt offences, and give proof of that goodneſs you have ever had for a Houſe that is intirely devoted to your Service, and honoureth you as her Lord and Father. This*

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a Prince of your Blood now at your Majesties Feet does solemnly avow, being ready if an occasion should offer to seal it with his own. The Duke my Father doth altogether rely on you Majesties goodness, and all of us cast our selves into your Hands. If your Majesties will be graciously pleas'd to grant us the Favour which I now humbly beg, it will be, Sir, a new Grace, that will for ever engage us to your Majesties Service.

The Bishop of St. *John of* Maurienne gave an exact account to the Duke of *Savoy*, of what pass'd at *Madrid*. When the Duke understood with what haughtiness and indifference his Son had been receiv'd, and that the Duke of *Lerma* boasted that he had a Copy of the Treaty with *France*, and that it was requir'd of Prince *Philibert* to ask pardon in his Fathers Name, became so extremely enrag'd, that it was long before he could bring himself within the Bounds of Decency. *I will lose my life, and Children, and Dominions*, cry'd he, *rather than yield to a thing so unworthy of one of my Rank. Am I, then, become a vassal to the Crown of* Spain, *that I must ask pardon of* Philip, *for having made a Treaty, which he does not approve? God be thank'd, it is not yet come to that: I am not yet so weak, as not to be able to venture one Battle with* Spain. *Let them abuse my Son, and violate all the Laws of Hospitality; their rudeness shall never oblige me to yield to a thing so dishonourable.* When the Pope's Nuncio represented to the Duke, that the Condition his Affairs were in, would not allow him to deny some submission to his Catholick Majesty; he was then more than ever incens'd, spoke a thousand unbecoming things, and protested he would never consent, tho' the Pope himself should order it.

All this did not dishearten the Nuncio. He continued earnestly to remonstrate to him that he was not to expect any assistance from *France*; and in case his Country became the Seat of War, he would infallibly be ruin'd. At length the Duke being convinc'd by repeated news from *France*,

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that the Regent at moſt would only aſſiſt him by her good Offices at the Court of *Spain*; he conſented that Prince *Philibert* ſhould make ſatisfaction according to the Writing drawn up by the Duke of *Lerma*. The buſineſs was finiſh'd *Nov.* 19. 1610. *Philip* with his uſual gravity reply'd, *Upon the deſire of the Pope and the French King; and in conſideration of your journey hither, and the petition ye have made, I am willing to drop the reſolutions I had formerly laid down. The Duke your Father, may expect the marks of my favour, in proportion to his good conduct, that ſhall deſerve 'em.* Then Prince *Philibert* made a profound Reverence, and return'd him humble thanks for the Grace he had vouchſafed to his Father.

Velaſco *Conſtable of* Caſtile *and Governor of* Milan *receiv'd orders to lay down Arms.*

When the Pope and others preſs'd *Philip* to withdraw his Troops from *Milan*, he always told 'em he could do nothing till the Conſtable of *Caſtile* nominated to ſucceed the Count *de Fuentes* were arrived there. He was upon the road, when the Duke of *Savoy* yielded to the propos'd Conditions. After that the Pope and *Mary de Medicis* redoubled their ſolicitations to King *Philip* for disbanding his Army. Accordingly, ſo ſoon as *Velaſco* was in poſſeſſion of his Government, he receiv'd orders to break the Troops. The Affairs of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany* were in ſo bad a condition, and the Monarchy of *Spain* ſo much drain'd of Men and Money, that *Philip* could not be otherwiſe reveng'd of a Prince that had endeavour'd to take *Milan* from him. Beſides, had not *France* and the Pope aſſiſted him under hand to ſave his Honour, *Savoy* might have ſtood out, and the King of *Spain* durſt not have attack'd him.

The Duke of Savoy's various projects. Siri mem. Rec. Tom. tom. 2. p. 440. 454. 460, 461.

The Duke of *Savoy* was mad at ſeeing himſelf rally'd upon by all *Europe*. He reſolv'd to be as late in disbanding, as he could, and at any rate to make the moſt of his Troops he had ſtanding. Sometimes he rail'd againſt the King of *Spain*, and ſeem'd to diſallow his Sons conduct. Sometimes he flew out againſt the Regent of *France*, threatening to perplex her Affairs at home, if ſhe would

not

not perform the Treaty agreed to by the late King. Sometimes he thought to ſurpriſe the *Genueſe*, and to that effect entred into a negotiation with *Leſdiguieres*, becauſe 'twas not feaſible he could compaſs his deſign without the concurrence of *France*. Soon after he renew'd his former deſigns againſt *Geneva*; being full of freſh hopes to engage the Pope and Conſtable of *Caſtile* in deſtroying a Republick equally odious to the Court of *Rome* and that of *Madrid*. Towards the end of the year 1602, he was at the point of ſurpriſing *Geneva*; For ſome of his Men had already ſcal'd the Walls, and were going to open the Gates to the Duke, who would certainly have entr'd, if the interpriſe had not been happily diſcover'd. In 1609, he thought to have ſucceeded better. He had contriv'd the matter ſo, that ſome Veſſels laden with Wood, and Soldiers hid underneath, ſhould come along the Lake, but this ſecond attempt was ſooner ſtifled than the former; *Terrail* the Chief Commander in the exploit, had ſpoke imprudently, in the preſence of ſome people, who went and advertiſed the Magiſtrates to be upon their guard.

The Duke of Savoy's deſign upon Geneva

Atlength, in the Spring time 1611. The Duke had a mind to try if he could ſucceed better with open Force: his Troops are ordred to paſs from *Piemont* to *Savoy*. Preſently this new motion of an uneaſie and ambitious Prince occaſion'd great ſuſpicion. He indeavour'd to diſguiſe his deſign upon *Geneva*, and the *Pais de Vaux*, but the inhaditants of the Town, and thoſe of the Canton of *Bern* quickly diſcover'd the Intrigue. Immediately they addreſs'd themſelves to *Leſdiguieres*, and beg him to perſwade the Regent to aſſiſt 'em. *Leſdiguieres* promiſes his good Offices. Before he wrote to Court, he gave notice to the Duke his Friend, that ſince *Geneva* and the Country *de Vaux* were under the Protection of *France*, ſhe would not fail to defend 'em. The Duke ſeemed not to mind his Remonſtrances: whereupon the Marſhal earneſtly preſs'd the Queen and Counſel to oppoſe the Duke's deſigns. They were ſenſible of the conſequences that would enſue.

Vie de Leſdig. l. 2. c. 11. Siri mem. Rec. tom. 2. p. 461. 462.

enſue. *La Noue*, Son to that Brave and Religious Gentleman that purchas'd ſo fair a character in the Wars of *France* and the Low-Countries; was order'd to march to *Geneva* with 2000 Foot, and freſh aſſurances of the Royal Protection were ſent to the Canton of *Bern*.

The Counſel of France protects Geneva.

Bellegarde, the King's Gentleman of the Horſe was diſpatch'd to *Bourgogne*, and the Marquis *d' Alincourt* to *Lions*, to watch the Duke's motions. *Barralt* being nominated Ambaſſador Extrordinary for *Turin*, took Journey in order to repreſent to *Charles Emanuel* the troubleſome conſequences of that interpriſe; and to tell him plainly that the Regents Council were already aſſembling Troops for the defence of a City and Country that the Predeceſſors of *Lewis* the XIII. had taken under the Protection of their Crown. Notwithſtanding all this, the Duke reckoning upon the aſſiſtance of the Pope and Governour of *Milan* would not deſiſt. The Count *de Soiſſons* had privately advertis'd him to be very reſerv'd with *Barralt*, he being a Creature of *Villeroi*, who mean'd to ſurpriſe and fright the Duke. The Pope's Nuncio in *France* declar'd his Maſter knew nothing of the Dukes deſigns. But at the ſame time this *Italian* Miniſter ſupported 'em as much as he could, and endeavour'd to convince the Queen of their Juſtice. All this gave umbrage. Whereupon ſhe earneſtly recommended it to Cardinal *Joieuſe*, that he would diſcourſe the Pope about it, and repreſent to him the reaſons that engag'd *France* to oppoſe *Savoy*'s deſigns.

Siri mem. Rec. tom. 2. p. 463. 464. &c.

No body knew what was the meaning of that Prince's Intrigues, perhaps he did not know himſelf. He undertakes to make War with the Proteſtants; and his principal view was, to make the *French Huguenots* riſe up in Arms, in caſe he got leave to act againſt *Geneva*. At the ſame time he propoſes to the King of *England* a double Marriage, of the P. of *Wales* with the Princeſs of *Savoy*, and of the Prince of *Piemont* with the Engliſh Princeſs. At firſt *James* would ſcarce hear the Dukes Envoy upon the Subject. However, the Duke carried

ried it ſo far, that the Court of *Rome* took the alarm. *Paul* V. indeavoured to break a negotiation that the King of *England* and Duke of *Savoy*, had no great mind to conclude. A Capuchin was diſpatch'd for *Turin* with Cardinal *Bourgheſe* his Inſtructions, in order to bring the Duke off the thoughts of an Alliance with *England*. All that any body can make of this fooliſh Intrigue of the Duke's, is only that he had a mind to make *France* jealous, and oblige 'em to put in execution the Treaty of the Marriage of *Henry* IV. his Eldeſt Daughter with the Prince of *Piemont*. He hoped the Pope would rather drop the negotiation of a double Marriage between *France* and *Spain*, and prefer the Prince of *Piemont* to marry the Eldeſt Daughter of *France* or *Spain*, than ſuffer a Proteſtant Princeſs to be brought to *Turin*.

The poor Duke always murdered his Affairs by over-acting the Politician. His Intrigue with *England* was as ſucceſsleſs as the reſt: The Regent having reſolved upon the double Marriage between *France* and *Spain*, did not dream of the Prince of *Piemont*, unleſs it were for *Chriſtin* the late King's ſecond Daughter. His deſign upon *Geneva* and the adjacent Countries, he was obliged to lay aſide. *Mary de Medicis* had plaid her Game ſo handſomely with the Pope and King of *Spain*, that they joyned in with her to oblige the Duke of *Savoy* to diſband his Troops. To put a concluſion to that matter, *La Varenne* was ſent from the Court of *France* to *Turin*: *Charles Emmanuel* flattered himſelf ſtill with ſome hopes upon the Regents ſide, and would fain have ended the matter handſomely, and in good Friendſhip. At leaſt he propoſed to reap one advantage by ſo doing, namely that *Mary de Medicis* would thank him for the deference he feigned to her Majeſty. Siri *Mem.* p. 533. &c.

The Aſſembly of the French *Proteſtants.*

She preſſed for a Ceſſation of *Savoy*'s motions, the more earneſtly, by reaſon that the Court was afraid leſt the Proteſtants aſſembled at *Saumur* ſhould take umbrage. After the Proteſtants of *France* were reduced to a neceſſity of defend-

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ing themſelves againſt thoſe who attacked them by open force ; they introduced a Cuſtom of aſſembling in the different Provinces of the Kingdom, in order to concert the Means for continuing the ſafety of their Perſons, and the free exerciſe of their Religion. At firſt one or ſeveral Provinces joyned to another, made up a Provincial Aſſembly. From thence they deputed a certain number of Gentlemen, called Elders and Miniſters, who formed a General Aſſembly, that concerted the general reſolves for the common good. Such Confederacies are authorized by reaſon and the Law of Nature. The firſt Chriſtians were wont to joyn and aſſemble together for regulating their Diſcipline, and preſerving the purity of the Goſpel. In imitation of them the Proteſtants had Synods for drawing up a confeſſion of their Faith, and forming the Diſcipline of their Church. Being born in a Chriſtian Country, where the Subjects enjoy their Priviledges and Liberties, they made it their buſineſs not only to preſerve the purity of their Religion, but to defend their natural Rights, ſo far as the Rules of Natural Equity and Chriſtianity would allow them, iu oppoſition to their King and Part of their Country men that offered to oppreſs them.

'Tis true, a Soveraign ought to hinder and prevent all ſuch Confederacies and Aſſemblies, as mean'd diſorder or confuſion to the State : but theſe mean only to procure a juſt Execution of the fundamental Laws of the Society, and to ſupport all the individual Members in the Peaceable Enjoyment of their Rights and Priviledges, which without Injuſtice cannot be wreſted from them. 'Tis indeed a reaſonable plea, that a particular Set of people ought not to be allowed to ſet up a new Republick in a State. But theſe Men will never harbour ſuch a thought, if they were but allowed a peaceable enjoyment of their Liberty of Conſcience, and what by Birth-right belongs to them. But 'tis downright Tyranny to make uſe of a pretext of diſorder, which would not have fol-

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lowed had Juſtice been done; and to cover oppreſſion by a Maxim otherwiſe good in it ſelf.

So long as the King of *Navarre* was obliged to make head againſt the League, he took his meaſures from theſe Principles, and believed, they were ſolid and tended to advance the felicity and repoſe of a civil Society; but when he found himſelf Maſter of a Noble Kingdom, he then had a mind to turn out the ſentiments, which Intereſt rather than Reaſon had made him entertain. Reaſon is ſeldom minded by Princes 'Tis only allowable to talk of it to them, when they are not capable to underſtand it. After that, flattery ſeduces them, ſelf-love puts a falſe byaſs upon them; and whatever tends to make them more abſolute and independent, that they receive as moſt juſt and reaſonable. After the Ratification of the Edict of *Nantes*, *Henry* readily granted to the Proteſtants the liberty of a General Aſſembly. He was affraid the Lords that were there preſent, or thoſe whoſe Creatures ſate there, would interpriſe ſomething diſſerviceable to him.

Synods, ſays he, *are ſufficient for regulating Diſcipline and Religion. As for what relates to civil Affairs, or the Obſervation of the Act of Pacification, the two General Proteſtant Deputies, that I allow to be in my Court, may repreſent the reſpective complaints and grievances of the Provinces. And I'll take care to do 'em Juſtice.* Now the reaſoning was good, had *Henry* been Maſter of ſo much ſagacity and integrity, as not to ſuffer himſelf to be impos'd upon by the Pope's Nuncio, and ſome other crafty perſons, that hung always about him in order to wreſt ſomething from him to the diſadvantage of the Proteſtants. The continual application of thoſe who mean'd 'em harm, occaſioned almoſt an indeſpenſible neceſſity of theſe General Aſſemblies. Beſides, the King had agreed with the Proteſtants, that they ſhould name ſix perſons capable to be their Agents at Court, out of which number he would chooſe two ſuch as he thought

fit. Now by this very contract, there was a neceſſity of meeting for the nomination of thoſe ſix perſons, which were to be preſented to his Majeſty.

'Tis plain indeed *Henry*'s intention was, that thoſe Aſſemblies ſhould meddle with nothing, but the choice of ſix Men, capable to perform the office of a General Deputy. But when the time of their ſervice was expired, they were to give an account of all that paſs'd through their hands; now this the Aſſembly could not inſpect, without launching into ſeveral Political Affairs. This *Henry* was ſenſible of. And therefore having laid his precautions againſt the Marſhal *Bouillon* and the other Proteſtant Lords, whom he diſtruſted, he granted the Proteſtants his Brief, allowing 'em to meet together, and repreſent their Grievances. The Duke of *Sulli* his Faithful Miniſter was very uſeful to him on theſe occaſions: He indeavour'd to carry matters ſo evenly, that at once the King was ſatisfied, and the wiſer and more moderate of his Proteſtant Subjects had no reaſon to complain. Indeed he had a troubleſome poſt. To ſerve his Maſter, and at the ſame time to humour the Proteſtants, was no eaſie task; uneaſie and turbulent Spirits were always clamouring againſt him. And the Marquis of *Bouillon*, whoſe tricks he narrowly obſerv'd, had conceiv'd an implacable hatred againſt him.

Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, *liv.* 5.

The ſervice of *Villarnoul* and *Mirande* as Deputy Generals expired in 1611, at which time they followed the Court to *Rheims*, where the Coronation of the new King was celebrated. There they preſented a Petition, praying his Majeſty to ſuffer his Proteſtant Subjects to meet in an Aſſembly. The Petition was granted, *Oct.* 10. 1610. It allow'd the Proteſtants to aſſemble at *Chatelleraut*, the 25 of *May*, in the next year. From that time the proteſtants were making ready their Grievances, to be preſented to the Regent, and hop'd to render their condition better. The Court flatter'd 'em with good hopes. The Marſhals of *Bouillon* and *Leſdiguieres* appear'd very zealous for the intereſt of Religion: They oblig'd *du Pleſſis Mornay* to draw

draw up Memorials to be ſent thro' all the Provinces to the end they ſhould agree in what they demand from the Regent in the juncture. The Provincial Aſſemblies were rigorous enough in their reſolutions; which *Bouillon* did not conceal, but publiſhed at the Court, and gave Copies of 'em to *Villeroi*; by this means he ingratiated himſelf with the Dutch and Engliſh Ambaſſadors, and promis'd 'em he would do great things in the Aſſembly. Soon after, he retired to *Sedan*, to let the Regent ſee that he was going to concert meaſures for procuring Juſtice for his Brethren.

Bouillon *gain'd by the Court.*

Whether *Bouillon* mean'd diſhoneſtly in theſe advances, or whether he only ſuffer'd himſelf to be dazzled by the careſſes and promiſes of the Queen and her Confidents, God Almighty knows. As for *Leſdiguieres*, he was a Man of unchriſtian ſentiments, his whole life was a continued ſcene of the blackeſt Crimes; In a word, he was a downright profligate perſon. Whatever were *Bouillon*'s hidden deſigns, when he return'd from *Sedan*, he chang'd his Language. Diſcourſing to the Dutch Ambaſſador, he thus expreſs'd himſelf. *During the minority of a Prince, Good Chriſtians ought rather to ſuffer than to cabal and concert intrigues to improve their condition. We ought firſt to give the young King teſtimonies of our ſubmiſſion, and readineſs to ſerve him. As for what remains, God will vouchſafe it in his own time. With theſe thoughts I go to the Aſſembly, and will do my outmoſt to inſpire 'em with the ſame ſentiments.* I ſhould readily incline to commend *Bouillon*, were it not that other Memoirs, beſides that of the Duke of *Rohan*, inform me that the Queen ſent *Conchini* to him with a poſitive promiſe of the Government of *Poictou*, which ſhe deſign'd to take from the Duke *de Sulli*. *Villeroi* and the Marquis *de Ancre* drew up Inſtructions for *Bouillon*; and gave him money to be diſtributed to thoſe whom he thought fit to bribe, together with a Commiſſion to aſſure ſome Mercenary Spirits of freſh gratuities from *Mary de Medicis*.

Chatelleraut being one of the Cities which *Sulli* had a mind to deſtroy, *Bouillon* was againſt the meeting there. *Saumur*, according to his mind, was a place fitter for his purpoſe. The brief for the Tranſlation was ſigned at *Fountainbleau*, *May* 2. 1611. Before the Aſſembly was opened, *Bouillon* had given *du Pleſſis Mornay*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality to know, that he would not be their Preſident. *I am of opinion*, ſays he, *that ſuch a Place ought not to be beſtowed on any great Lord, becauſe it would occaſion too great Jealouſie.* But the Marſhal being again engaged in the Court, he was obliged to change his purpoſes. So ſoon as he arrived at *Saumur*, he openly declared that he wiſhed to be Preſident. *This diſtinguiſhing Office*, ſaid he, *is above all due for the long and important ſervices I have done to the Proteſtant Churches in* France.

An Account of the Aſſembly at Saumur.

The Duke of *Sulli*, *Rohan*, *Trimouille*, *Soubize*, *Chatillon*, *La Force*, and ſeveral other Proteſtant Perſons of Quality, were all preſent at *Saumur*. Some of them, and the greateſt part of the Deputies, were Jealous of the Marſhal of *Bouillon*; and therefore they fix'd upon the firſt Propoſition that *Bouillon* himſelf had propos'd to 'em, namely, that they ought not to chuſe any great Lord for a Preſident. The Plurality of Voices fell upon *du Pleſſis Mornay*, Governour of the Town and Caſtle of *Saumur*, whoſe Knowledge, Religion and Integrity, were known to all the World. At firſt he refus'd a Poſt, which would expoſe him to the envy and hatred of the Marſhal his ancient Friend, but his reſiſting was to no purpoſe; the Company requir'd him to give freſh marks of his zeal for maintaining the Reformation, and of Common Probity in the moſt tickliſh concerns. *Bouillon* gave publick proofs of his reſentment, and threatned to revenge the Affront upon thoſe who gave it. His particular deſign was upon the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Sulli*.

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After ſome time, he bethought himſelf that his paſſion might be fatal to his projects, and endeavour'd to appear more ſatisfied. Some of his Friends propoſed an Accommodation between him and *Sulli*, and he himſelf was ſenſible that Prudence oblig'd him (at leaſt) to an apparent Reconciliation. The Marſhal upbraided the Duke with bringing the Cannon out of the *Arſenal* in the late King's time, with a deſign to ruin the City and Church of *Sedan*; and then adds, *Let us forget what's paſt, I am willing to be your Friend and humble Servant: If ever they attack you for your Religion, I'll bring out the Canon from* Sedan *to defend you, with as good a heart as you did thoſe from the* Arſenal *to deſtroy me. Let us all agree together for the intereſt of our Religion: Conſcience and our Common Intereſt require our Concord. Without we be united together, we cannot ſubſiſt. The Party we are both imbarqued into cannot procure to us great advantages: but 'tis able to ſupport an indifferent fortune.* That which the World calls *Greatneſs of Soul*, is oftentimes nothing but vanity and oſtentation. The Marſhal would ſeem to act a Magnanimous part, in ſacrificing the reſentment of a particular injury to the Publick Good: 'Tis poſſible he might be ſincere in that minute. The ſentiments of Religion and Probity will awaken upon a call in good People; but paſſion prevailing in its turn, ſtifles whatever oppoſes it. In ſome important Affairs he diſplay'd Vigor and Warmth; In other things he was byaſs'd by Spite and Ambition; but did not perceive that in endeavouring to ſerve the Court, he ſowed among his Brethren the Seeds of diviſion, which has proved fatal to them.

Bouillon and Sulli reconcil'd.

To prevent diviſions, the Proteſtants renewed the Oath of Union which they had made on ſeveral occaſions. That way of Confederacy commenced among 'em, when they had a Prince of the Blood, and the late King himſelf at their head. After he had changed his Religion, he allowed his Proteſtant Subjects to renew their

The Proteſtants renew their Oath of Union.

Union at *Mante*, before his face, where, in the preſence of the Catholicks of his own Party, they ſwore they would die in the defence of their Confeſſion of Faith, and would never depart from the Allegiance due to the King. A Juſt Sovereign would not complain of an Oath taken, under obedience to him. Yet when *Henry* became a peaceable Poſſeſſor of *France*, he afterwards found fault with the Confederacy that the King of *Navarre* had approved. He was out of humour for the renewing of it at *Chatelleraut*; and was angry with *Leſdiguieres* for ſigning an Act that he himſelf had ſign'd in the time of his Royal Predeceſſors. *Sulli* alledged very good reaſons for what they had done. *Sir*, ſays he, *The Proteſtants would fear nothing, could your Crown immortalize you. But the Memory of* Barthelemi *will ſtill make 'em afraid: They are ſenſible the Catholicks have preſs'd you to grant the Proteſtants only an Edict of Toleration for a time. 'Tis upon theſe accounts, that they're obliged to uſe ſuch precautions for the time to come.* We cannot find it ſtrange that the Proteſtants ſhould renew the Union at *Saumur*, after the juſt ground they had to diſtruſt the Regent and her Council. And yet they were reflected upon. During the whole Reign of this King whoſe Hiſtory I now write, they were continually twitted with that Oath. To brand that as a Crime, which *Henry* IV. himſelf had owned to be innocent and neceſſary, was an open declaration to the poor People, that they had a deſign to deſtroy 'em.

Sulli's buſineſs propoſed in the Aſſembly.

Boiſiſſe and *Bouillon* Counſellors of State, were ſent by the King as his Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly at *Saumur*. They brought Letters from their Majeſties, and flatter'd them with hopes; and by ſo doing thought to have drawn up the Paper of their Grievances and Petitions. While that was getting ready, the Affair of the Duke *de Sulli* was propos'd. He dreaded the Conſequences of their threats, namely, that they would

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appoint Commiſſioners to examine his paſt Conduct, and proſecute him if he did not willingly lay down his place of Great Maſter of the Ordnance, and the Government of *Poicton*. In order to make him lay down willingly, the Court offered him one of two Rewards, which he would; namely, either ſome dignity in the State, as that of a Mareſhal of *France*, or elſe a conſiderable ſum of Money. The Duke would fain have kept his place, together with the Government; thinking to convey one of them to the Marquis *de Roni* his Son. But he ſaw no other way of coaping with his powerful Enemies at Court, than by engaging the whole *Huguenot* Party to ſtand by him, and to declare openly that they were intereſs'd in the preſervation of the Duke. He uſed all means to make the Project take, and *Bouillon* was as careful to thwart him, having an eye upon the Government of *Poitou*, which the Regent had promiſed him.

Sulli therefore makes a remonſtrance to the Aſſembly; and under pretence of asking their advice in what he had to do, dexterouſly inſinuates, that the only cauſe of his Misfortunes was the Religion he profeſs'd; and that the Oath of Union into which he had now entr'd, would without doubt render him yet more obnoxious to the Court. The Deputies knew it to be partly ſo, and thoſe of 'em who were diſengaged, declar'd for *Sulli*. The number of his Friends was further enlarg'd, by the eſteem theſe had for the Duke of *Rohan* his Son-in-Law, whoſe reputation was already illuſtrious; his great Courage, ſingular Goodneſs, the penetration of his Spirit, and the large compaſs of his knowledge, made him admired by all. The Mareſchal *Bouillon* look'd upon him as an inſuperable Obſtacle to his deſigns; this conſideration perplex'd him extremely; however, he was not without hopes to get the Duke to abandon his Father-in-Law, and for that intent

The D. of Sulli's Remonſtrance to the Aſſembly. Merc. Franc. 1611.

The Interview between Boillon *and D. of* Rhoan.

endeavour'd to perſwade him that it was impoſſible to defend him.

The Duke being indiſpos'd, the Marſhal viſited him, and addreſs'd himſelf to him, in the following words. *'Tis extremely difficult,* ſays he, *and next to an impoſſibility for a man that has the management of the Royal Revenue, and of the Ordinance, howſoever great his care and Integrity may be, not to commit ſome fault, which if nicely inſpected may deſerve to be puniſhed: Eſpecially ſeeing an Overſeer of the Revenue, and a great Maſter of the Ordinance, are not only accountable for their own faults, but even for thoſe of their Deputies and under Officers. If the Court ſhould delegate Commiſſioners to enquire into the Adminiſtration of the Duke of* Sulli, *do you think they would not find a colourable pretence to deprive him of his places? Let us ſuppoſe that injuſtice were done to the Duke, yet neither the Aſſembly, nor the reſt of the Reformed could complain, the buſineſs being decided in a judicial way. And for you, my Lord,* added Bouillon, *your Goodneſs is ſo untainted, you are ſuch a great Lover of Order, and in a word, ſo much a true Frenchman, that you would never judge it convenient to thwart a judicial ſentence.* The Duke of *Rohan* was extremely diſpleas'd with the Compliment. *Is it ſo then,* replies he in a Paſſion, *that* Sulli *after ſo great ſervices to the deceas'd King, muſt be abandoned as a prey to his Enemies, and theſe very perſons who have done miſchief to the State? His management is unblamable, and we are not afraid of being call'd to an account. He is a Peer, and can't be judg'd, but in a Court of Peers. If his Enemies attempt to bring him before any other Court, his Kinſmen and Friends will never indure ſuch an Affront. And my Lord, you may aſſure your ſelf that I will not be wanting on ſuch an occaſion: nor will I tamely behold the unjuſt oppreſſion of my Father-in-Law.*

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This reſolute ſtedfaſtneſs of the Duke of *Rohan* did extremely diſpleaſe and diſcourage the Mareſchal *Bouillon*. In the meam time the Aſſembly declares for *Sulli* : He is ſolicited to keep his Employments, eſpecially that of Great Maſter of the Ordinance: And tho poſſibly he might rather incline to have an equivalent Reward, yet they pray'd him to prefer an honourable Imployment to Money: tho the one might better ſuit with the intereſt of his Family, the other was more expedient for the common Good of the reform'd Churches. In fine, the Aſſembly made it appear that in that juncture the private intereſt of *Sulli*, was inſeparably link'd to the Publick Intereſt of the whole Proteſtant party, who alſo would eſpouſe his Quarrel. This reſolution was impugn'd in ſome Libels; among which one appear'd under the name of *Surveillant de Charenton*, being a Satyre on the cruel and covetous humour of the Duke, Wherein alſo the Proteſtants were advertis'd, that their ſo great zeal for the intereſt of a particular perſon was very lyable to be miſconſtrued; and that they would do well to act with more Temper and Diſcretion.

The Aſſembly declares for the Duke of Sulli.

The Proteſtants bold words in their Aſſembly, indeed gave Umbrage to the Court. The Duke of *Rohan* had made a Diſcourſe full of Vigour, Courage, and Piety; which was liſten'd to with pleaſure; and inſpir'd the hearers with greater Reſolution, than before. He laid down a Political Maxim, which now we find Prophetical. *The Laws of States*, ſaid that great Man, change with the times. We cannot depend upon certain and immutable Maxims. What is good for one King, is pernicious to another. If the King perſecutes our Religion, by ſo doing he loſes the protection of all *Chriſtendom*, enriches ſome of his Neighbours; he does not enlarge t he credit of the Roman Church, and intirely ruines his Kingdom. The Regents Council being entirely devoted to the Court of *Rome* and *Spain*, were far from folowing a Rule that was ſo ſure and proper for the

The Court indeavours to diſſolve the Aſſembly.

the welfare of *France*. The Court was afraid of the Conſequences of the Union and good Underſtanding among the *Huguenots*. That was enough to have broke the double Marriage which the Queen had concerted. At laſt they reſolv'd to divide the Party, and ſeparate the Aſſembly with all ſpeed, without giving 'em any occaſion to complain of any but themſelves.

After ſome Negotiations with the Kings Commiſſioners about the Petition, *Boiſiſſe* and *Bullion* declare they have no orders about them, and that it was proper the Aſſembly ſhould Depute ſome body to Court to preſent their Grievances and Demands. Accordingly it was done. The Deputies were well received by the Miniſters, and amuſed with good words: but 'twas a great ſurpriſal to them, when inſtead of receiving a favourable anſwer to their Addreſs, as they expected, the Chancellour declared that it could not be done till the ſix Perſons were nominated, out of whom the King was to chooſe two general Deputies for the reform'd Churches; that was to ſay, in plain *Engliſh*, that they would not anſwer their Addreſs till the Aſſembly was broke up: for they could not continue to ſit after that Nomination, becauſe the Grant was only for that effect. They inſiſted upon the matter, and made humble remonſtrances about it: The Miniſters anſwered, *The King is not obliged to treat with his Subjects: He vouchſafes them his favours as he pleaſes; your buſineſs is to proceed to your Nomination: The Addreſs is as favourably anſwered as you can expect.*

The Aſſembly divided.

Bouillon proteſted the ſame, with curſes upon his Eternal damnation. *Queſtionleſs*, ſay the Court Creatures, *'tis out of a mere formality that the King will not put into our hands, the favourable anſwers he has given: 'tis only a piece of decency to let us ſee that he grants favours, rather than conditions concerted by us. Our buſineſs is to obtain our requeſt; 'tis no matter which way we come at it.* Thoſe of more Sagacity and Goodneſs did not ſuffer

ſuffer themſelves to be ſo dazled. They foreſaw that if the Aſſembly were once diſmiſs'd, they muſt be content with what the Regent pleaſed to grant them; and that the bare remonſtrances of the two general Deputies would not have weight enough to influence the Court. But *Bouillon* had already gained a conſiderable number of them. *Ravenne* the King's *Valet de Chambre* was ſent from place to place to diſtribute, or at leaſt to promiſe rewards to thoſe that would buy them.

The Mareſhal *Bouillon* thinking his Party ſufficiently united, drew up the form of a Letter, that the Regent was to ſend to the Aſſembly, and conveyed it privately to Court. The purport of it was, to order the Aſſembly to proceed immediately to the nomination of the ſix Perſons, to accept the anſwers due to their Adreſs, and then to ſeparate: Thoſe who refuſed to obey were declared Rebels; and the leſſer number retain'd by *Bouillon*, were authorized to nominate the ſix Perſons. The Regent ſent ſuch a Letter as *Bouillon* had projected. At firſt it was communicated to ſome Perſons, in order to know their ſentiments: Some were of opinion they ſhould depart without ſtaying to read it. But *du Pleſſis Mornay*, and the wiſer part apprehended that thoſe retained by the Mareſhal and the Court, would blindly obey; and the others refuſing to comply, a fatal diviſion would enſue in the Reformed Churches. With this view they endeavoured to perſwade the more zealous Party to make uſe of Prudence and Conduct.

The wiſe Conduct of du Pleſſis.

The wiſe *du Pleſſis* addreſs'd himſelf to 'em thus, 'We know very well who is the Author of that 'pernicious advice. Without him they durſt not 'have attempted a thing of that Conſequence. 'Let us not flatter our ſelves; he who is begun 'to warp the web, will not leave it unfiniſhed. 'He'll have the honour of accompliſhing that, 'with Perſecutions, Civil Wars, and S. *Barthelemi*, 'have not been able to compaſs. Our Union

'will

'will be broke, and our Churches ſplit by an 'unhappy Schiſm. May God be judge between 'us, and him who gave the advice. May he 'give him to know his fault. Gentlemen, there 'is *Solomon*'s Judgment in the Caſe. Let us give 'proof that we are the true Mother. The Bow-'els of Jeſus Chriſt, are rent at a rate ſo much 'the more cruel, that ſome of us will not per-'ceive it. 'Tis not theſe Mens buſineſs to teach 'us the obedience we owe to our King: We are 'well acquainted with one another. Whatever may 'arrive, let us nominate purſuant to the Queens Command. Our Churches will pardon us for 'not following their Memorials, when they know 'into what danger a bad Council has caſt us. 'Schiſm is ready to take place; and that will 'ſufficiently juſtifie us. This Religious and Wiſe Diſcourſe calmed their irritated Spirits; they reſolved to wait for the Queens Letter, and obey her Orders.

Bouillon goes next day to the Aſſembly, there he preſents the Queens Letters, and requires her Orders ſhould be put in execution. *Du Pleſſis* anſwer'd, 'Since we are ſo unhappy as not to be 'heard in our remonſtrances, her orders ſhall be 'obeyed; but we hope their Majeſties will have 'regard to our ſubmiſſion and juſt demands: then turning to the Commiſſioner, continues, 'Suffer 'me to tell you plainly, that thoſe who ſow di-'viſion among us, do not do her Majeſty any 'good Service. 'Twas our Union that eſtabliſh-'ed the late King upon the Throne of his An-'ceſtors. He was ſo ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of it, 'that he approved the renewing of it, and ſwear-'ing to it, in preſence of him and all the Court, 'at *Mante*. May Heaven grant to the King a 'peaceable Minority, and to the Queen a hap-'py Regency. The more Proteſtants are united 'one to another, the more they will be in a con-'dition to do ſome uſeful piece of Service to 'their Prince. Some of thoſe whom the Court had retain'd, being egg'd on by the Commiſſi-

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oner, would have roſe and made a noiſe, but the prudence of the Preſident and the remonſtrances of others ſtop'd 'em.

Upon the 5*th.* of *September* the Aſſembly nam'd ſix perſons, of whom the Court was to chuſe two to be the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France*: After which, the anſwer to their Memorial being read, the Conceſſions of the Court, appeared ſo inconſiderable, even to thoſe who ſided with it, that they could not hear them without ſhame and anger. *It had been better*, cried ſome, *to have broke up ſooner than to have ſtaid ſo long for this.* It was time for them now to look about them; the Aſſembly being diſſolved by the ſame Brief, which gave it Authority to ſit. *Let us part aſunder*, ſaid du Pleſſis, *and may every one leave here his Animoſities: If we carry them with us to the Provinces, 'twill but enflame the miſchief; all have failed, all have done well: Let us endeavour by a reſpectful ſilence and chriſtian patience, to obtain what has been denied to our Requeſts and Remonſtrances.*

Such was the end of that famous Aſſembly of *French* Proteſtants, after three Months ſitting: It was made up of ſuch as among them were eminent for their Birth, Addreſs, and Experience in Affairs. Had it not been for their Diviſions and Ambition, and the Avarice of ſome amongſt them, which effected the deſigns of the Court, their labour might have proved more for the good of their Churches. Their ſitting, as it had diſquieted the Queen Regent, ſo it had alarm'd ſeveral Cities, who dreaded leaſt the Reformed ſhould become more powerful than ever. But when their Enemies perceived that they were parted without any advantage by their being together, they triumph'd over them on all hands. Many Libels were written againſt them, amongſt which there was one whoſe anonymous Author, divided them into three Ranks, the *Malicious*, the *Zealous* and the *Judicious*: Among the firſt he reckoned the Duke of *Rohan*, and others who

French *Mercury.* 1611.

were

who were of opinion that reſolute ſtedfaſtneſs was requiſite, in order to obtain favourable Anſwers. *Theſe people*, ſays he, *deſign nothing but Confuſion and Civil War*. As for the Zealous, he makes them ſuch as the love of their Religion has rendred Jealous and Miſtruſtful. *Their flaming Zeal*, continues he, *and their conceited opinion that every one has an ill deſign upon them, make them entertain the ſentiments of the former*. Infine, Mareſhal *Bouillon* and his Party, he terms the *Judicious*, whoſe Compliance and Moderation he commends. Civil War was, in their opinion, *the greateſt miſchief*; *and rather than kindle it they would endure all things*.

The Book of du Pleſſis Mornai *againſt the papacy.*

A new Book written by *Du Pleſſis Mornai*, had greatly incens'd the Roman Catholicks: 'twas entitl'd, *The miſtery of Iniquity, that is, the Hiſtory of the Papacy*. The Author's deſign was to ſhow, in oppoſition to *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*, by what degrees the Monarchy of the Pope had arriv'd to its height, and the oppoſition made by good Men, to the eſtabliſhment of a Power ſo oppoſite to the Goſpel. This ſhould not have ſurpris'd the Roman Catholicks, who might now have been already pretty well accuſtom'd to a Controverſie, on which almoſt an infinite number of Books were written. But the picture prefix'd to the Book did yet more enrage them. *Paul* V. was there repreſented with ſuch flattering and impious Inſcriptions, as had been compos'd on the other ſide the Alps. Some had appli'd to him what the Holy Spirit ſpeaks of Jeſus Chriſt alone. One among the reſt has given him the title of *The moſt Infallible Monarch of the Chriſtian Republick, and of the moſt Zealous Defenders of the papal Omnipotence*; and infine, that of *Vice-God*, which was a word newly invented to his Honour. Since perſons who profeſs to believe the Goſpel have arriv'd to ſuch an extravagant pitch of boundleſs flattery; is it any wonder that the Heathens plac'd their Princes among the number of the Gods.

Du Pleſſis, by a very pleaſant and happy obſervation, put a notable Jeſt upon him: For by adding the value of the numeral Letters of the Latin words that ſignifie, *Paul* V. *Vice-God*, he found the number 666, which makes the myſterious name of the Beaſt, ſpoken of by St. *John* in the Revelation. The Reform'd applauded the Diſcovery; and already perſwaded themſelves that *Paul* V. was indeed the *Son of perdition, whom the Lord Jeſus was to deſtroy with the breath of his mouth, and by the brightneſs of his coming*, and flatter'd themſelves with the expectation of ſuddenly ſeeing the down-fall of *Babylon*. *Du Pleſſis* himſelf was ſo well pleas'd with the lucky hit, that tho his friends acquainted him that his Book had much injur'd his Fortune, and that from that time *Villeroy* and ſome other Miniſters of State had quitted the concern they had for him, having before deſign'd a conſiderable Poſt for him, yet he bore without repining the diſappointment, and ſeem'd to diſpiſe the threats of his enraged Enemies. *Life of Mr. Du-pleſſis Book 3.*

The more knowing part of the Roman Communion only laught at the Author's Fancy; however that ſport of Wit appear'd in good ſeaſon to humble the Pride of a Prieſt, who, being now Biſhop of *Rome*, took pleaſure in impious flatteries. The Monks and Eccleſiaſticks made a great clamor. The Pope's Nuncio was greatly incens'd, and *Paul* himſelf ſent his Briefs to complain of the affront that was done him. The Queen Regent was no leſs allarm'd than others, who had not hitherto permitted any to call the Pope Antichriſt. Beſide the Reaſons common to all thoſe of her Religion, for oppoſing a Doctrine which made them paſs for worſhippers of the Beaſt, ſhe had one peculiar to her ſelf. The validity of her Marriage with *Henry* the IV. depending upon the Authority of the Pope, who had declar'd that with his former Wife *Margaret* of *France* to be nul, ſhe thought that thoſe who look'd upon the Pope as Antichriſt, could not eſteem her King *Henry*'s lawful Wife. Where-

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fore she would have *Mornai*'s Book at least openly disgrac'd.

Du Plessis's *Book is censur'd by the Faculty of* Paris. *French Mercury.* 1611.

It was carried to the *Sorbon* the 1 of *August* 1611. The Rector and Doctors of the Faculty of *Paris*, after a solmn Mass of the Holy Ghost, came together, to appoint Doctors to examine the Book. The report was brought in upon the 19th of the same month, which was, *That the Book was stuffed with infinite Blasphemies, and detestable Impieties against the Catholick Faith and Religion, and holy Apostolick See.* These big words serve for for nothing but to blind the simple, whom we may well allow to believe that the Catholick Faith and Religion are inseparable from the papal Authority. The Doctors, Magistrates, and Courtiers believe as they please: But policy won't permit the common people to be deliver'd from their Ignorance and Superstition. The Censure of the Faculty was agreeable to the Report of the Doctors. *The Book was abhorr'd and condemn'd, as most Heretical Wicked and Seditious, contrary to the divine, natural and common Laws*, and infine, it was whatever it pleased these good Gentlemen to call it.

Reflections on the Censure.

Could these Sage Masters of the *Sorbon* speak more violently against the impious Doctrines of *Samosatenus*, *Arius*, *Photin?* Ask them what reasons they have thus to thunder-strike an Author, who denys the Papal Monarchy to be of Divine Institution, and you will loose your labour. All the Doctors set up for little Popes; they thunder, but instruct not. How shall we know that the Papacy is founded on a natural Right? The greatest part of Men who have hitherto liv'd, could not discover it. What blindness! As for the divine Law, they send us to one or two passages of the Gospel: But as the Roman Catholicks themselves are not not yet agreed on the true meaning of these places, the most serious Christian Authors, even before there were Protestants in the World, could never find in the the

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Supremacy of the Pope. And laſtly, if by the Cannon Law, the modern Decretals are underſtood; the Cauſe is their own: But if the true Canon Law of *France*, that is, as we have often been told, the ancient Books of Canons made or receiv'd in the firſt General Councils, the moſt knowing, and moſt upright Doctors of *Paris* cannot find there any ſuch thing, as the Primacy or Monarchy of the Pope. 1611.

It was the name of Antichriſt that moſt incens'd the Roman Catholicks. The Pope will not own himſelf the Apocalyptick Beaſt; nor thoſe of his Communion, themſelves for his worſhipers: But infine, if 'tis true, which is not much diſputed in *France*, that the Authority uſurped by the Pope, is contrary to the Spirit of Chriſt, and inſtitution of the Apoſtles, it can't be deny'd that in this ſence the Pope is Antichriſt, and his Dominion antichriſtian. Again, if it is certain, as apparently it is, that to *lift up and oppoſe ones ſelf againſt all that is called God, or is worſhiped*, is to exalt ones ſelf over thoſe of whom the Lord of all things has ſaid, *ye are Gods, and the Son of the moſt High*; And to arrogate to ones ſelf Honours only due to them: will it not thence enſue, that the Pope either really is, or at leaſt does imitate to the Life *the Son of Perdition, and Man of Sin, foretold by St.* Paul? Now as to the Propheſies of St. *John*, the Proteſtants are not the firſt who have apply'd them to the Pope. Without any troubleſome examination, we'll meet with ſuch Characters as certainly reſemble thoſe now aſcribed to the Pope. The reſemblance between Pagan *Rome* and Chriſtian *Rome* in theſe latter days, is ſo neat, that 'tis hard to tell which of 'em is pointed to by thoſe that explain the propheſies of the Revelations.

In the beginning of this Century, one *Ferrier* thought to ſignaliſe himſelf by maintaining in a publick *Theſis*, at *Niſmes*, where he was Profeſſor, that the *Pope is Antichriſt*. The Parliament of *Tholouſe* proſecutes him. But he declin'd their Jurisdiction

1611. riſdiction, and ſoon after the French Proteſtants drew up a new Article of their Faith in a National Synod, at *Gap* in *Dauphiny*, by which they declared they believ'd and maintain'd that the Biſhop of *Rome* is properly Antichriſt, and the Son of Perdition, foretold in the Scriptures. This new Article was to have been inſerted as the XXXI. Article of the Confeſſion of the Faith of the reform'd Churches in *France*. *Henry* IV. was angry, that in his Reign the Proteſtants ſhould ſtart a new thing, that was not thought of before, in the time of his Predeceſſors, when their diſputes were much hotter.

I know not whether he dreaded the conſequences, upon the account of the ſecond Marriage; or was affraid they would upbraid him for quiting the true Religion, to worſhip the Beaſt. However he abſolutely commanded the new Article to be tore out of their Confeſſion of Faith. The wiſer and more moderate of the Proteſtants diſown'd the tranſaction at *Gap*; or at leaſt thought the Synod wanted prudence and moderation. In the Synods of *Rochel* and S. *Maixant*, the ſame queſtion about Antichriſt was again ſtarted. But *Henry* IV. continued to oppoſe the publication of an Article that did not ſeem very neceſſary to Salvation. *Viguier* publiſh'd a Book entituled, *The Theatre of Antichriſt*. The Jeſuit *Gontier*, the famous converter in thoſe days, preach'd it down in a violent manner. The King diſcharg'd the publication of the Book; and impos'd ſilence to the over zealous Controvertiſts. Now the Book of *du Pleſſis Mornay* was publiſh'd ſoon after theſe diſputes, before they were well a ſleep; ſo that 'tis no wonder if it made a great noiſe. Tho it had been true, that that Gentleman, who is otherwiſe very knowing and wiſe, had fail'd in his conduct on that occaſion; yet the *Sorbonne*'s Cenſure cannot but be looked upon as extravagant and ridiculous.

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Mary de Medicis was beginning to lay down the Methods that ſince have been ſo conſtantly obſerv'd in her Son's Reign, and even to this Day. She made it her Buſineſs to divide and weaken the Proteſtants in *France*. But to thoſe of *Geneva* and *Germany*, ſhe did not deny her good Offices together with the young King's Protection. Towards the end of *September*, the Marquis *Vieuville*, *du Brueil* Preſident at *Mets*, and *Villers Hotman* were ſent to *Aix la chapelle* to endeavour to appeaſe the tumults that had lately been raiſed in that City. The occaſion of them was this. In the Year 1598. the Proteſtant Inhabitants of *Aix la chapelle*, put away their Catholick Magiſtrates: Whereupon the City was ſummoned before the Empire. The Elector of *Cologne* was Commiſſioned to execute the Emperor's Order, and by the aſſiſtance of the Elector of *Triers*, and the Duke of *Cleves* compaſſed his End. So that the Catholick Magiſtrates were reinſtated, and the Proteſtant Miniſters in their turn were expell'd the City. The Proteſtants were much diſſatisfied that they had not the liberty to exerciſe their Religion; and the Catholicks had a mind to fortifie their own Intereſt in oppoſition to them, by caſting themſelves under the Protection of *Albert*, Arch-duke of the Low-Countries. The Proteſtants were hearten'd by the Revolution that happened afterwards in the Dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, whereby they came into the hands of two Proteſtant Princes. They us'd to go two leagues off to a little Village in *Juliers*, to worſhip God, and hear his Word. This gave Umbrage to the Catholicks. The Magiſtrates diſcharged the Proteſtants to go thither, under the pain of Impriſonment, and a heavy Fine: And they added this hard clauſe, that thoſe who had not Money to pay their fine, ſhould be baniſh'd the Town.

1611.

The troubles of Aix la Chapelle.

1611. Some were Impriſon'd, and afterwards ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment. Their Friends and Neighbours being touched with Compaſſion in parting with 'em, went in a large body to the Magiſtrates, and preſented a Petition on their behalf. They remonſtrated, that the Sentence given was contrary to the priviledges of the inhabitants, and required it ſhould be moderated. The Magiſtrates were ſo far from regarding their Remonſtrance, that they ordered every Man to repair home immediately. The People returning home, fell a crying out againſt the ſeverity of the Magiſtrates, and againſt the Jeſuits whom they believed to be Authors of theſe violent meaſures. Some cry'd, 'We have lain under op-'preſſion theſe twelve years; have not we had 'patience enough? Will we never think to re-'venge the injury done to three huudred fami-'lies of our fellow Citizens, in being expelled 'their Country, in leſs than eight days. The 'love of Liberty is common to Men and Beaſts; 'only Men have the advantage of Courage and 'Induſtry to maintain it, or retrieve it when loſt. 'Our Anceſtors did always prefer Death to Sla-'very. Let us follow the Pattern they have left 'us. Death is more creditable and ſweeter to 'undergo than Baniſhment. If it pleaſe God to 'bleſs our juſt Efforts, for the preſervation of our 'Eſtates and Priviledges; we ſhall yet recover the 'free exerciſe of our Religion.

The Exhortation had influence upon ſome, who preſently roſe up in Arms, and were quickly joined by others. They obliged the Mayor to open the Priſon doors, to let out thoſe who were unjuſtly Impriſoned, and ſeized the Keys of the Gates. The Proteſtants, being maſters of the Town, choſe Captains, eſtabliſhed a new Common-Council, and at laſt put all into the beſt order they could, to put an end to the trouble and confuſion. The new Council were apprehenſive they could not preſerve Peace in the City, ſo long as the Jeſuits neſtled there; ſo they

they ſent ſome Men to ſecure the Fathers, and take Poſſeſſion of the Colledge. The Jeſuits were ſo ſtruck with fear, after their Intrigues had left them, that they retir'd to the Church to implore the Aſſiſtance of God, and their great Patron *Ignatius* of *Loiola*, who was lately enroll'd among their Saints. When Superſtitious People have fooliſhly brought themſelves into danger by their Caballs and indiſcreet Zeal; they retain ſtill a vain confidence that God will work Miracles to deliver them. The Jeſuits were carried to the Town-houſe, and ſecured by a good Guard, without offering them any harm. The Superior of their Houſe at *Paris*, was then at *Aix la chapelle*, drinking the Waters. So ſoon as they knew him, they treated him with all poſſible civility. The Citizens told him, that in conſideration of the King of *France* and the Queen his Mother, they would pay him all civil Offices. 1611.

The wiſe and moderate Part of the Catholicks had diſallowed the Magiſtrates ſeverity againſt the Proteſtants. Several of them would not quit their places, or other pretenſions in the City; but afterwards finding themſelves in too weak a condition, they had recourſe to Arch-duke *Albert*. On the other hand the Proteſtants ſolicited for ſuccour from the Princes of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*, poſſeſs'd of the adjacent Countries, *Cleves* and *Juliers*. Count *Solms*, Governour for theſe Princes, came to *Aix la Chapelle* with a good number of Horſe. The Proteſtants continued maſters of the City; and publiſh'd a Manifeſto, giving reaſons for the change of the Government of their little Republick for a time. They offered to make an agreement upon the following Conditions, That thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, and the Reformed ſhould enjoy the full exerciſe of their Religion: That a certain number of Proteſtants ſhould be admitted to the Magiſtracy; and that the Jeſuits ſhould be expelled.

1611. *The Regent interposes in the Affair of* Aix là Chapelle.

Arch-duke *Albert* and the Elector of *Cologne* ſent Envoys to aſſiſt, on their parts, in the Accommodation. *Albert*'s Envoy's behaved themſelves in ſuch a menacing manner, that their mediation was rejected. The Marqueſs of *Vieuville* and his Collegues were better liked. After a wiſe Remonſtrance, the Proteſtants were brought to agree to a Proviſional Treaty, without prejudice to the Emperor's Authority, or his future Orders. They conſented in the mean time, till the Emperor's deciſion were made, that all things, even the Jeſuits Colledge not excepted, ſhould be reſtored to their former State; providing the Proteſtants were allowed the free exerciſe of their Religion, in ſome convenient place, without the bounds of *Charlemaigne*'s ancient City. But the Catholick Magiſtrates refuſed to ſign the Treaty, pretending that the Emperor had given Arch-duke *Albert* and the Elector of *Cologne*, a full Commiſſion to appeaſe the tumult at *Aix la Chapelle*, as they thought fit.

Vieuville and his Collegues gave in a ſecond remonſtrance to the Catholick Magiſtrates, to diſpoſe 'em to Peace; but all in vain. They ſtiffly rejected it; and the Jeſuits retreated to the Popiſh Netherlands. Then the *French* Envoys cauſe new Magiſtrates to be choſen with the Proteſtants conſent. *Albert*'s Embaſſador at *Paris* ſolicits the Regent to diſanull all that *Vieuville* and his Collegues had done. But the Regent being informed of the truth of the matter, declared to the Envoys from *Brandenbourg*, *Newbourg*, and *Aix la Chappelle*, that the King her Son would not ſuffer any thing to be interpriſed to their Maſters prejudice.

The Proteſtant Pr. in Germany, *aſſemble upon the Affair of* Juliers *and* Cleves.

In *Germany* 'twas feared that the litigious ſucceſſion of *Cleves* and *Juliers* might cauſe a diviſion among the Proteſtant Princes. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* and Duke of *Newbourg* were both pretenders to it; and the Elector of *Saxony* had a mind to maintain the Rights of his Family. Now the diviſion of three ſuch great Proteſtant

teſtant Families might give a great advantage to the Roman Catholicks. In order to prevent ſuch bad Conſequences, and to Accommodate the matter among the Competitors, ſeveral Princes met at *Introbook* near *Leipſich* in *Saxony*. The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg*, and ſeveral Princes of both Families, together with thoſe of *Heſſe*, made an agreement there, that, till the Emperors deciſion were made, the Countries of *Cleves* and *Juliers* ſhould be joyntly poſſeſſed and governed by the Elector of *Saxony*, together with the Princes of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*; upon this Condition, that the *Saxon* Princes ſhould lay down a certain Sum of Money to the two Princes, that were already in Poſſeſſion. The Proteſtants were very well pleas'd with the Tranſaction, that reconcil'd the two Electoral Families. But the Prince of *Newburg*, refuſing to conſent to it, notwithſtanding the ſubſequent intreaties of a Proteſtant meeting at *Rottembourg* in *Bavaria*, the Treaty of *Introbook* had no effect. 1611.

The Princes of the Proteſtant League meet at Rottembourg.

The meeting of the Proteſtants at *Rottembourg* was occaſioned by the various perſecutions of the Proteſtants in *Bamberg*, *Wirtsberg*, *Cologne*, and elſewhere. Beſides, they were glad of the opportunity to concert their common Affairs, and to adjuſt meaſures for fortifying their Union, and preſerving their Intereſts. The Emperor ſent two Perſons to aſſiſt on his part: They complained to the Imperial Envoys, of the non-execution of ſeveral things promiſed to them by the Emperor, and of the Perſecution of thoſe of their Religion in ſeveral places. The Imperial Miniſters made the beſt excuſe they could. 'His Im-'perial Majeſty, *ſay they*, is willing to maintain 'the Peace of all his Subjects in his own Heredi-'tary Countries, without any diſtinction of Re-'ligion. But ſince he has no Authority over the 'Arch-biſhop of *Cologne*, or the Biſhops of *Wirts-'berg* and *Bamberg*, he cannot be accountable for 'their Proceedings. In a ſhort time the Electors

1611. 'are to meet at *Nurimberg*, to consult about the 'general Affairs of the Empire. His Imperial Ma- 'jesty will there take care, that every one ſhall 'have ſatisfaction. The Proteſtant Princes having ſeen themſelves ſo often put off by the like promiſes, roundly told 'em, That if the Emperor delay'd longer to perform his promiſes, they would provide for themſelves, according as the ſtate of their Affairs required. *Matthias* King of *Hungary* expecting to be choſen King of the *Romans*, ſent the Baron *Polheim* to *Rottembourg*, to manage the Princes of the Proteſtant League. 'Twas a conſiderable point gained, that they ſhould not thwart his deſigns. *Polheim* thanked the Princes for their Affection to his maſter; he aſſured them of his Friendſhip, and gave 'em an account of the agreement between the Emperor and his Brother. After the uſual Compliments upon ſuch occaſions, the Proteſtants intreated the King of *Hungary* to abſtain from all violent meaſures, to take care of the Emperor his Brother, and ſee that the Strangers who are of his Council do not ſway him to reſolutions contrary to the Peace of *Germany*. The Republick of *Venice*, the *Swiſs Cantons*, and the Seignory of *Geneva*, had likewiſe ſent deputies to the Aſſembly. The *Venetians* were upon their Guard, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, eſpecially againſt the King of *Spain*, and *Ferdinand* Arch-duke of *Grats*. The *Swiſs* and thoſe of *Geneva* were afraid of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Enterpriſes. This made 'em all equally deſirous of the good Will of the *German* Proteſtant Princes. They promiſed Aſſiſtance to *Geneva*, and gave a very fair anſwer to the *Venetian* and *Swiſs* Letters.

The Affair of *Aix la Chapelle* was taken into conſideration. The Princes reſolved to defend the Proteſtant Citizens, in caſe of need; but at the ſame time they exhorted them to live peaceably with their Catholick Neighbours. They ſent a requeſt to the Magiſtrates of *Cologne*, that they would ſuffer the Proteſtants, without ſcan-

dal

dal or fear of being disturbed, to go into the Territories of Neighbouring Princes, to worship God with those of their own Religion. In case the Magistrates of *Cologne* did not grant the request, the Protestants were exhorted to suffer patiently, and to offer no violence. They wrote likewise to the Bishops of *Bamberg* and *Worms*; desiring the former to let his Protestant Subjects live in Peace, and the latter to turn out the Jesuits he had call'd in. I take pleasure in recounting these particulars: They give proof of the Wisdom and Moderation of the *German* Protestant Princes. When they took up Arms for their Religion, 'twas when they were reduced to the last extremity. The Princes likewise sent Messengers into *France*, *England*, and the *United Provinces* to renew the Alliances, and thank the two Kings and the States General, for their assistance in the Wars of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. In fine, they received some Counts, and Imperial Cities into the League, upon their earnest desire. The Affairs of greatest Consequence were remitted to the Electoral Diet at *Nurimberg*. 1611.

Christian II. Elector of *Saxony*, being dead by an Apoplexy some time before; his brother *John George* succeeded him. The German Princes are ordinarily excessive lovers of drinking: And indeed it is surprising that the fatal and sudden death of so many of their Relations, as perish by this Vice, does not scare them from a thing so unbecoming their Dignity, and inconsistent with Christianity. The greatest Drinkers were *Christian*'s greatest favorites, and his Successor found himself oblig'd to redeem with money the Forts and Signiories which he had liberally bestow'd on his Favorite Debauchees. It is reported, that a Minister being sent from the Princess his Mother, to dehort him from that Vice, he caused him to be set at Table, and knowing him to be a covetous Man, he promis'd him a large Golden Cup, if he would drink it off full, a certain number of times: The Offer is accepted; but before he could perform

The death of the Elector of Saxony.

French Mercury 1611.

1611. form what he had engaged, he fell down drunk. The Elector then sends back to the Princess in a Chair her fuddled Preacher, saying by his Messenger. *Another time, Madam, make a better choice; if you would advantage me by your admonition*, send me Ministers that may be more proof against temptation than my self. It may be said, that oftentimes these Princes would find no place in History, were it not for the diversion of the Reader, and to expose the ridiculousness of Vice.

The Electoral Diet at Nurimberg.

John George, the new Elector came to *Nuremberg* with his Colleagues, about the beginning of *October*. The first thing they fell upon, was the contest between the Dukes of *Sweybruck* and *Newburg*, for the Government of the Electorate, during the Minority of the young Count Palatin of the *Rhine*, which was to continue till the 18th year of his age, according to the Golden Bull. *Frederic* VI. Elector Palatin, who died the year preceeding, by his Will had left the Gardianship of his Children, and Administration of the Electorate, to *John* Duke of *Sweybruck*. He was receiv'd at *Heidelberg* in that Quality, notwithstanding the opposition of *Philip Lewis* Duke of *Newburgh*, who claim'd the Administration as nearest Kinsman, acording to the Golden Bull of the Emperor *Charles* IV. The Counsellors of the Palatinat sided with the first, in regard he was of the establish'd Religion of the Country, whereas *Newburg* was of the *Ausbourg* Confession. They defended the preference by the Example of several Electors Palatine, who had appointed Guardians to their Children, and Administrators of the Electorate, to the prejudice of the nearest of Blood. The business was brought before the Emperor: And, till an intire Decision should be made, the Guardianship and Administration were adjudged by provision to the Duke of *Sweybruck*. The Electoral Diet at *Nuremberg* did not give a decisive Judgment; for it was there ordain'd that the Duke of *Sweybruck* should hold the place of Count Palatine

French *Mercury*. 1610. *and* 1611.

Palatine without detriment to the pretenſions of the Duke of *Newburgh*. 1611.

About the beginning of *November*, the Electors ſent Deputies to the Emperor, to repreſent what they thought expedient, to deſire of him: Namely, that Juſtice ſhould be reſtor'd; that he would chooſe more faithful Counſellors, that, ſince the Electors have no thoughts of chooſing a King of the Romans without his Imperial Majeſties conſent, nor to take the Empire from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he would be pleas'd to name him whom he deſir'd to ſucceed him, and call a General Diet. At the ſame time they aſſure him that they don't approve the Attempts of his Brother *Mathias*: Infine, they advertis'd him, that the ill Adminiſtration of the Empire proceeds from his neglecting the Example of his Predeceſſors, who were wont to adviſe with the Electors. *The Electors demands of the Emperor.*

Rodolph returns only a general Anſwer. *I know*, ſays he, *that the Empire wants a King of the Romans. The Electors have here deſir'd me to chooſe one, and I have had thoughts my ſelf to name who I thought fit for that Office: nay I had done it, if the commotions in* Bohemia *had not intirely taken me up. But before I declare my ſelf, I am contented that a General Diet ſhould meet, at which I will be preſent my ſelf. 'Tis the Electors part to take ſuch care, that I may freely ſpeak what I think for the good of the Empire.* The Electors having receiv'd the Emperours Anſwer, break up upon the 12*th* of *November*; having appointed another meetin to be in *April* following, for electing a King of the Romans. *The Emperor's Anſwer.*

Europe at that time was in mourning for *Margaret of Auſtria*, Wife to *Philip* III. King of *Spain*. She left four Sons, and two Daughters, to wit, *Philip*, *Charles*, *Ferdinand*, *Alphonſus*, *Anne*, afterwards Queen of *France*, and *Margaret*. Her Funeral was ſolemnis'd in the Cathedral Church in *Paris*. The Princes of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* perform'd the honors; and the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* pronounc'd the Funeral Oration. *The Queen of* Spain's *Death.*

The

1611. The Houſe of *Guiſe* had a little before this time mourn'd for the death of the D. of *Mayenne*, that famous Head of the Holy League in *France*, who died at *Soiſſons*, in the beginning of *October*. The Duke of *Aiguillon* his Son ſucceded, and took his Father's Title. The deceas'd Duke had acquired ſome reputation in War: But the ſlowneſs of his Nature made him loſe many fair occaſions of inlarging it. His Rebellion againſt *Henry* III. to revenge the Death of his two Brothers, might be excus'd, were it allowable, I ſay not, in a Chriſtian, but in any Man whatſoever, to kindle a Civil War for the reſentment of a private Injury: And what he attempted againſt *Henry* IV. cannot be juſtified by his zeal for the antient Religion. He ſeemed to be ſomewhat heartened by *Henry* IV. his quiting the Proteſtant Communion. The diſcontent he had conceiv'd at the ill ſucceſs of the Affairs of the League, had made him take up a reſolution to retire into *Spain*: but he was detain'd by the Clemency or Policy of K. *Henry* IV. who propos'd to him advantageous conditions. The Duke had in ſome ſort merited that diſtinction, even from one he had endeavour'd to exclude from the Throne. For during the Commotions about the League, he always oppos'd himſelf to the deſign of *Philip* II. to chooſe a Prince of his own Houſe: he alſo kept the Duke of *Guiſe* his Nephew from being ſeduc'd by the deceitful promiſes of the Spaniards. When it was propos'd to the Duke of *Mayenne*, after the example of *Hugh Capet*, to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Government, by making the Governours of Provinces and conſiderable Towns, Dukes and Counts, Vaſſals to the Crown: *I had rather*, ſaid he, *die generouſly, than advantage my ſelf by ſo great a misfortune to my Country.* *Henerietta* of *Savoy* his Spouſe, dyed of grief, ſome days after him: and they both had One Funeral at *Soiſſons*.

The Death of the D. and Dutcheſs of Mayenne.

The Court of *France* at *Fontainbleau* receiv'd the news of the death of the D. and Dutcheſs of *Mayenne*. The Cardinal *Gonzague* and the Dutcheſs of *Lorrain* her

herSiſter were there, viſiting *Mary de Medicis* their Aunt. They were very much honour'd, and regal'd with all the diverſions that the beauty of the place could afford. Some pretended that the Dutcheſs of *Lorrain* came there to treat of the Marriage which the late King himſelf had propos'd between his Eldeſt Son and the Princeſs of *Lorrain*. This was certainly the moſt advantageous propoſal for the young King. That Alliance would have brought him the Dutchies of *Bar* and *Lorrain*. But the unwary Queen was ſo engag'd to the Court of *Madrid*, by the influence of thoſe about her that ſold themſelves to *Spain*, that nothing could put her off the double Marriage, which the *Pope* and *Duke* of *Tuſcany* were carrying on with all their might. The Spaniſh Embaſſador kept a watchful eye upon the Dutcheſs of *Lorrain*'s Motions; and took occaſion to ſay openly, that the King of *France* could not have two Wives, that his Marriage with the Infanta was already concluded upon, and that his Maſter *Philip* would not ſuffer 'em to deride him with impunity. But what if *Mary de Medicis* had deſpis'd the Spaniſh threats? What harm would have inſu'd? All true French-men, and eſpecially the Proteſtants, cry'd out againſt that double Alliance. *England*, and the United Provinces oppos'd it with a great deal of Application. *Arſens* the Dutch Embaſſador under-hand ſpur'd up the *Huguenot* party, to oppoſe a Treaty that would certainly be prejudicial to all the Proteſtants in *Europe*. The Spaniſh Embaſſador's diſcourſes were only vain Rodomontado's. His puny Maſter had enough to do in maintaining the intereſt of his Family in *Germany*; and was he in a condition to make *France* afraid, when in league with her neighbours? But the Regent never knew either her own or her Son's true Intereſt.

1611.

The Dutcheſs of Lorrain *and Cardinal* Gonzague *come to the Court of* France.

Her Miniſters were jealous upon *Soiſſon* their enemy, his deſiring an Alliance with the Marquis of *Ancre*; and endeavoured to alienate her from a Prince that thought of nothing but turning them

all

1611. Soiſſons *being diſaffected, joins again with* Conde.

all out of the Court. The firſt thing that ever the Regent did to diſoblige him, was the denying him a favour, that ſhe had encourag'd him to expect ſome months before. The Dutchy of *Alenſon* was mortgaged to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*. *Soiſſons* having got a Sum of Money from the D. of *Savoy*, for the Eſtate and Lands that his Counteſs had in *Piemont*, deſigned to imploy it upon purchaſing the Dutchy of *Alenſon*, by clearing the Crowns debt to *Wirtemburg*; But the King's conſent was neceſſary. Now *Mary de Medicis* being prepoſſeſs' by her Miniſters, denyed him that favour, telling him very dryly, what, you have a mind to purchaſe a Dutchy, deſign'd for an Eſtate to one of the Sons of *France*! It ſeems you have no little deſigns on Foot. The Regent foreſaw that the Count would be diſobliged by her denial, and would ſhew his reſentment. And upon that account made haſte to recal the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Epernon*, to ſtand in oppoſition to him.

The project of the Queen and her Miniſters, did not altogether take. The Marquis of *Coeuvres* was a Confident of *Soiſſons*; He thought that the poor Count being out of favour with the Queen and her Miniſters, and retaining a ſecret grudge againſt *Conchini*, tho he always kept ſome meaſures with him; and being a declar'd enemy, to the Houſes of *Guiſe* and *Epernon*; he thought upon theſe conſiderations he would not be able to find any other ſupport in the Court, than to engage in a ſtrict friendſhip with the Prince of *Conde* his Nephew, and to oppoſe to the Faction that had combined againſt him, the Intereſt and Dignity that in *Franee* their birth gives to the Princes of the Blood, eſpecially in the time of a minority. *Coeuvres* accordingly ſets on foot a negotiation with *Beaumont*, Preſident *Harlai*'s Son, and a confident of the Prince of *Conde*, whom they expected at Court, in order to form an Union between the Uncle and the Nephew. They agreed, that the two Princes ſhould meet in *Piemont*-houſe, not far from *Fontainbleau*.

The

The interview gave the Regent ſome jealouſie, notwithſtanding it was cover'd with the pretence of hunting, and diverſion. The Count of *Soiſſons* would fain have diſſipated the Regent's jealouſie, by bringing over the Marquis of *Ancre* to their ſide. They go together to *Beaumont*; after the diverſion of the day, the two Princes ſate up together very late. They made an involable League, promiſing reciprocally not to accept of any favour from the Court, without mutual conſent; and in caſe one of 'em ſhould be oblig'd to depart the Court upon any ill treatment, the other ſhould depart at the ſame time, and neither ſhould return again without mutual conſent, This Union continued very firm, till the death of *Soiſſons*. 1611.

The *Sorbonne* was divided as well as the Court. *Duval* declar'd for the Jeſuits. *Fileſac* a Prebend in the Cathedral of *Paris*, and ſeveral other noted Doctors were ſtrangely incens'd againſt the Society. The good Fathers lay claim to a moſt accompliſhed prudence, but have ever hitherto fallen ſhort of it, eſpecially when they talk of their St. *Ignatius*, and the Excellency of their Society. *Paul* V. their good friend, having as they term it, beatified that man who was truly extraordinary on ſeveral accounts, and authorized a feſtival to his Honour, the Jeſuits not only did what the Monks do on ſuch occaſions, but even endeavoured to ſurpaſs all others. A thouſand religious ſhews were exhibited in their Churches. Men of Judgment who were preſent at theſe Ceremonies, could not refrain from laughing at their folly. But when thoſe of better thoughts in Religion, make ſerious reflections upon the *Apotheoſes* introduced into Chriſtianity, and on the profane pegeantry expoſed to view at ſuch times in the Temples, where ſimple and ſpiritual worſhip ſhould take place, they can never enough deplore the wretched Corruption of the moſt ſacred and moſt venerable of all Religions. That which is moſt intollerable in theſe ſolemnities is, the fulſome Panegyricks beſtowed upon the new Saint: He

The Faculty at Paris *cenſures three Panegyricks of* Ignatius de Loiola.

1614. He is elevated above all others, prefered to the Prophets and Apoſtles, and equaled with Chriſt himſelf. The Jeſuits did not fail to chooſe ſuch preachers, as were moſt able to celebrate the praiſe of their *Loyola*: And foraſmuch as the Spaniards do out-do the Superſtition and Impiety of others, Sermons are made and printed in *Spain*, with which the Enemies of the good Fathers in *France*, divert the publick, to the Societies coſt.

A certain Jeſuit, call'd *Limoſin*, tranſlated into French three Spaniſh Sermons, preach'd on the Feſtival day of the new St. *Ignatius*, at *Sevil*, *Valencia*, and *Barcelona*, thinking thereby to gratifie the Society: One of the Preachers was an *Auguſtin* Monk, and the other two Dominicans. Poor *Limoſin* perſwaded himſelf that the French ſeeing the Founder of the Society extolled by one of a different Order, would believe him the higheſt Saint in Paradice. But inſtead of the wonders he expected, he engag'd the Society in new troubles, when ſufficiently plagued already with their Affairs at *Paris* and elſewhere. *Some learned Men*, as is reported, *and eminent for their ſincere piety*, did carry the French tranſlation of theſe three Sermons, with four Propoſitions drawn from thence, to one *Fileſac* a Prebend of *Paris*, and Paſtor of St. *John*, praying him to let them know if the Society of *Paris* thought good that a Doctor and one of their number ſhould approve ſuch pieces as theſe.

Fileſac propos'd the queſtion, in a meeting held by the Faculty, as is uſual the firſt day of the Month: this was in the beginning of *October*. One of theſe Propoſitions affirms, that *Ignatius with his name written on paper, did more miracles than* Moſes, *and as many as the Apoſtles. The ſecond avers that, the life of* Ignatius *was ſo holy, and withal, ſo eſteemed in the ſight of Heaven, that none but Popes as St.* Peter, *Empereſſes as the Mother of God, Sovereign Monarchs, as God the Father, and his Holy Son, had the happineſs to ſee it.* One of the two Dominican preachers own'd indeed

indeed, that the thunders of the preceeding Orders were sent by God, *but God*, added he, *has in these latter days spoken by his Son* Ignatius, *whom he has made Heir of all things: One thing only is wanting to his praise, namely, that God has not made the world by him.* The only thing to be blamed in the third Sermon, was that the Preacher had advanced, that the *Martyr Ignatius* was in a peculiar manner joyned *to St.* Peter, *and the Pope of* Rome, *as the lawful Successor of Jesus Christ, and his Vicar on Earth.* 1611.

Andrew Duval a famous Doctor of the *Sorbone*, devoted to the Jesuits, and Court of *Rome*, opposed himself to the Censure of those four Propositions; *they are*, said he, *capable of a pious construction.* But the opposite party prevailed: and indeed I cannot see what pious Expolition *Duval* could have put upon words so palpably impious. The three first propositions were adjudg'd *False, Heretical, Execrable, Impious, and full of Blasphemies.* This Censure was more Just, and more Judicious than that of *Duplessis*'s Book. As to the fourth proposition, they were more reserv'd and circumspect; for therein was handled the Authority of the Pope. *It contains*, said they, *two contradictory things: the one is Catholick, and to be approved*, viz. that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ on Earth. But the other, that the Pope is the lawful successor of Jesus Christ, *is a proposition evidently false, and altogether heretical.* The Jesuit rested not without replying, for he wrote an Apologetick Letter against the Censure: and by a subtilty, which had never come in his thoughts, if he he had not been otherwise inform'd, he pretended he had not got a Copy of the Condemnation it self: which he did, that he might not be obliged to speak of the Authority of the Pope. He pretended his friends had sent him a fourth Article quite different from that censur'd by the Faculty at *Paris*. The latter end of that Father's Apology is very extravagant. He charges the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, with a Crime, that they have always twitted their adversaries with, namely,

1611. that they are *Huguenots* in their Soul. *The Sorbonne*, says he, *curſed the Jeſuits, while the Hereticks at* Charenton *prayed for the Doctors of the* Sorbonne.

Reflections upon Ignatius his Character and Miracles.

A certain Author contemporary with the Society, ſaid frankly in the firſt Edition of *Ignatius*'s *Life*, that he did no Miracles. Nay, he endeavour'd to make it out by very good reaſons, that he might be a Saint without doing Miracles. The eſtabliſhment of a Society, that became ſo numerous, ſo powerful, and ſo celebrated in a few years, was to this Author a great enough Miracle. But that is not enough for canoniſing *Ignatius*. Other Miracles muſt be found; elſe *Rome* had never enroll'd him in their Martyrology. 'Twas a great mortification for ſuch good Children, to find that their Father was not a Saint of the firſt rate. But as ſoon as it came into their head, that *Ignatius* ought to have wrought Miracles, as well as others, they found a Million o' 'em, and thoſe very remarkable. The Honeſt Author was oblig'd to retract what he had ſaid, fifteen years after. When they publiſh'd the Second Edition of his Book, his Saint was every thing then. As for the flouriſhing condition of the Society before and after the Founder's Death; thoſe who are acquainted with the Hiſtory of their Settlement and Progreſs, will find nothing in it, but what is humane; providing they reflect upon the natures of Men, and conſider what are the moſt proper means for raiſing the Credit and Reputation of a Society made up and govern'd, as the Church of *Rome* has been for ſeveral ages.

I have been amazed ſometimes, when I conſider'd how Men of Senſe and Learning could deſire to be diſciples to ſuch a Man as *Ignatius* is repreſented to be in the different Hiſtories of his Life, writ by the Jeſuits, in ſome paſſages too ingeniouſly, and in others with too much artifice. But I ceaſe to be amazed, when I call to mind that the Men of the beſt Senſe are devoted to Superſtition. They may have fanci'd ſomething divine in the fantaſtical and irregular imagination of a *Spaniard*, that impoſed

poſed upon the World by his outward Gravity, and ſeeming Mortification. Then they have made the firſt advances to ſerve him in his vaſt deſigns. *Ignatius* being a cunning diſſembler (as any was in the World) knew how to make uſe of the knowledge he deriv'd from thoſe who were prepoſſeſs'd by his Piety and Godlineſs, and to make the World believe that what other people taught him ſprung from his own bottom. 1611.

The Jeſuits have carried the extravagant fancy ſo far, as to compare their Saint with the *Cæſars* and *Alexanders*. To my mind they have hit the truth nearer, that ſaid he was a downright *don Quixot* in matters of devotion. Theſe good Fathers muſt have a very mean opinion of the human Race, if they expect the World will eſteem their founder, after the account they themſelves have given of his fantaſtical Ideas and Actions, of his deſign to make himſelf Knight of the *Virgin*, and an infinite number of other Circumſtances in his Life. In reading a very Polite *French* Book, I was fully convinced that the Learned and Judicious *Melchior Canus*, Biſhop of the *Canaries*, was perfectly well acquainted with the genius of this Man, by a Conference he had with him at *Rome*. In which, *Ignatius*, without any occaſion, talked ſo ſillily of his pretended holineſs, the Perſecutions he had undergone in *Spain*, the Revelations and peculiar Graces that God favoured him with; that the ſenſible Doctor preſently found him a Man of a proud and irregular Spirit. *Vie de S. Ignace par Bouhors.*

Canus adds one very ſingular Circumſtance. *Ignatius* preſented to him a pretended Saint of the Infant Society. *Canus* preſently perceived that *Ignatius*'s Companion was a great fool. His diſcourſes were blended with ſo much Foppery and Hereſie, that *Ignatius* was aſham'd of him: *This honeſt Man*, ſays he to *Canus*, *is not a Heretick, but his Wits are inconſtant. Sometimes I meet with very lucid intervals in him: But 'tis the New Moon that makes him utter ſo much Hereſie.*

1611. Now a Man that's capable to make a fool pass for a Saint, can he be very wise himself? *Melchir Canus*, according to the Jesuits, had such a bad impression of their Society, that he applied to them this Prophecy of St. *Paul*: In the last days there shall come *men lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, and unthankful; despisers of those that are good, having a form of Godliness, but denying the power thereof.* The Testimony of this Author might have been rejected, by saying he was prepossess'd against them, had not the good Fathers given occasion to so many Men of considerable figure in the *Roman* Communion, to maintain that *Canus* was in the Right. The only secret they have yet found for preventing the effect of these heavy charges which are oftentimes so well made good, is to recriminate and brand their Adversaries for Hereticks.

2 Tim. 3. 1, 2, &c.

The Commotion at Troyes upon the Settlement of the Jesuits in that place.

The Inhabitants of *Troyes* in *Champaigne* are not look'd upon to be the wittiest Men in the World. And yet they have shewn a great deal of good sense in withstanding the Settlement of the Jesuits in that place. When they talked to them of it, they still answered, that that Society could do nothing but harm where ever it came. They had the same thoughts of the matter, as were formerly entertained in *France*, *Venice*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and *Poland*. 'Twas with difficulty that the Jesuits procured a reception into all these Countries; and as they came to be better known among 'em, they would gladly have expelled 'em. The Inhabitants of *Troies* were wise upon other mens experience, and have continued to this day inflexible in their resolution of keeping clear of the Jesuits.

In the preceding Reign they made many attempts to get into *Troies*. They procured Letters from *Henry*, ordering their reception. But the Town has always been so happy, or else so wise as to frustrate all their sollicitations. In the year 1611. the matter was put home to them. There was then a meeting at *Troies*, for the election of a new

new Principal of their College; in which the Bi- 1611.
ſhop, Preſident, and ſome others of the ancient League mov'd for the reception of the Jeſuits. But the Chapter of the Cathedral, and that of the College Church of St. *Steven*, the better part of the Clergy, the Judges, Officers of the City Chamber, and in a word, all that declar'd for the late King, in the time of the League, were againſt the Jeſuits. Some had the face to ſay, that the Queen ordered 'em to be receiv'd. They anſwer'd, if it be ſo, we'll obey, but we'll go firſt to throw our ſelves at her Majeſties feet, and tender our moſt humble Remonſtrances.

The Biſhop, finding it impoſſible at that time to ſurmount ſuch great reſiſtance, diſmiſs'd the Aſſemblies under the pretence of having the Affair try'd in a fuller meeting. That occaſioned great Commotions amongſt the people, jealous of their Liberty, and Priviledges. Thoſe that ſided with the Jeſuits ſecretly diſpatched a Curate from the City to the Court, with a verbal proceſs drawn up after their manner; wherein they let the Regent underſtand that the Inhabitants deſired to have the Jeſuits to inſtruct their Youth. As ſoon as ever the contrary Party had notice of what paſſed, they drew up a quite contrary proceſs. A Counſellor of the Preſidial was charged to carry it immediately to Court. The Curate who had got the ſtart of him ſome days before, obtained from the Regent to cauſe an extraordinary Aſſembly to be held. Men hoped it would be more favourable to the Jeſuits. When the News was ſpread through the City, that Father *Coton*, who undertook this buſineſs, had ſurprized the Queen, it cauſed a greater uproar than before; it was to be feared there would be an Inſurrection of the Inhabitants. *Preſlin* Governour of *Troyes* haſten'd thither with all imaginable expedition, to prevent the diſorder; and all the conſiderable Companies of the City aſſembled, to diſown in an Authentick manner what the Jeſuits Friends had done of their own

1611. head. *Pithou* Mayor of the City, the Dean of the Cathedral Church, and two or three others were nominated to make their remonſtrances to the Queen Regent: They publiſhed the reaſons the City had to refuſe a College to the good Fathers. Some of theſe reaſons are taken from the Situation, Commerce, and Convenience of the City, which did not permit the calling of the Jeſuits into it. The others are grounded upon the genius and behaviour of that Company, wherewith the Inhabitants could no way comply.

Theſe honeſt Citizens told them down right, That the ſettling ſuch a great number of Jeſuits Colledges within the beſt Cities of the Kingdom, might indeed conduce to the aggrandiſing of the Society, but that it was altogether contrary to the good of the Publick. 'Since the 'reducing of our City under the obedience of '*Henry* IV, *add they*, we have lived in perfect 'Peace and Quietneſs: Now the Jeſuits will come 'to revive the old Quarrels of the League a-'mongſt us. We ſhall ſee how contrary Facti-'ons; the one compoſed of People, directed by the 'Society, which will act as good Catholicks; the 'other, of thoſe who ſincerely love their Country; 'the firſt will cry out on us for a Company of 'Hereticks, Libertines, Politicians, lukewarm, and 'remiſs Catholicks: Has not Father *Binet* had 'the inſolence to Treat us after this manner in 'a Sermon at *Troyes*? No ſooner are the Jeſuits 'placed any where, but they would have every 'body be at their beck: then they ſow diſſention, 'they inſinuate themſelves into Families for to 'diſcover their ſecrets; nay, what paſſes be-'tween Man and Wife eſcapes not their prying Curioſity.

The Queen being better informed of what paſſed at *Troyes*, made anſwer to the Petition of the Inhabitants, whoſe Deputies the Duke of *Nevers* Governour of the Province had preſented to her, that ſome body had given her to underſtand,

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That the City had demanded the Jeſuits. *Since it is not ſo*, ſays Her Majeſty, *I am not willing to conſtrain the Inhabitants* nolens volens *to receive People whoſe humours they cannot comply with.* Moreover, ſhe writ to *Preſlin* to advertiſe the Biſhop and Preſident, for the future, to moderate their impetuous Zeal for the eſtabliſhment of theſe Fathers Jeſuits. The firſt project of their inſtitution, as the report goes, was conceived in the Boſom of the univerſity of *Paris*: but it hath always looked upon the Society as a Monſtrous Abortion. As ſoon as the Jeſuits had a mind to make themſelves known in *France*; The Faculty of Theology in *Paris* ſolemnly declared after a mature Examination of the Bulles, which two Popes had granted them, and the rules which the Founder drew up for his Diſciples, that the new inſtitution *was dangerous in reſpect of Faith, capable of diſturbing the tranquility of the Church,, in a word, more capable to deſtroy than edifie.* When the Jeſuits demanded to be incorporated into the Univerſity, it rejected them with diſdain and indignation; when they attempted to teach publickly, it vigorouſly oppoſed the deſign. The *Paſquiers* and *Arnauds* took upon them its defence. There is ſtill extant the Learned Pleading, wherein they expoſed and laid open to the Parliament of *Paris* the reaſons the Univerſity had to declare againſt an *Hermophradite* community, as they termed it, which is neither Eccleſiaſtical nor Regular. The attempt of *John Caſtle*, againſt the Perſon of *Henry* IV. was the chief cauſe why the Parliament of *Paris*, the moſt diſtinguiſhed and eminent Magiſtrates whereof had been educated in the Univerſity, paſs'd that terrible ſentence which condemned all the Jeſuits to depart *Paris*, and the other Cities, within three days, and all the Realm within fifteen: *As corrupters of the Youth, diſturbers of the Publick Peace, and Enemies of the King and State.* At length, when *Henry* IV. at the earneſt Solicita- 1611.

1611. tion of the Pope, by the inſtigation of *Silleri* and *Villeroy*, by the inſtances and intreaties of *La Varenne* the infamous Miniſter of his Criminal Pleaſures, had granted to the Jeſuits his Letters Patents, for their re-eſtabliſhment; Preſident *Harley* made uſe of all the Strength of his parts and Eloquence to perſwade the King that he granted a thing contrary to the ſecurity of his own Perſon, to the Preſervation of his Authority, and the welfare of his Kingdom: But neither the *Sorbonne*, nor the moſt excellent diſcourſes of two illuſtrious Advocates, nor yet the ſage Remonſtrances of the graveſt Magiſtrate that time afforded, did hinder the King and his Council from being more unadviſed than the Mayor and honeſt Citizens of *Troyes*. *Henry* forgot that League was conceived and hatched amongſt the Jeſuits, that *Barrier* and *Caſtel*, who made an attempt upon his Life had, been inſtructed and inſtigated by *Varade* and *Guignard*, two Jeſuits. Poor Prince! his imprudence coſt him dear, ſince that time *Ravaillac* made good improvement of the Leſſons and Divinity of the Writers and Doctors of that Society.

French *Mercury* 1610. 1611.

Men were not much ſurprized that three Months after the bloody death of *Henry* IV. at ſuch time as the Preachers of *Paris* were laviſh in their Invectives againſt the Jeſuits, notwithſtanding an infinite number of Writings which they publiſhed to make known their Genius and Doctrine, they had the impudence to demand of the new King the permiſſion to open their Colledge at *Clermont*, which had remained ſhut ever ſince their re-eſtabliſhment in *France*, there to read publick Lectures. The World began to be acquainted with the Jeſuits carriage and manner of acting. Long experience had taught it, that they make nothing of report; that juſt and reaſonable ſhame which makes other timerous and modeſt, adds more courage and boldneſs to theſe good Fathers. That which moſt aſtoniſhed all honeſt Men, was, that the Queen Regent and her Council ſhould grant

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the Jeſuits Letters Patents to be ratified in Parliament, at that very juncture when the Magiſtrates equally well affected for the preſervation of the Prince's Perſon and Publick Tranquility, did poſitively declare in their Acts and Decrees, that the Doctrine of *Mariana*, and ſome other Authors of the Society had ſheathed the Dagger in the breaſt of the two laſt Kings of *France*. Father *Colon* appeared no leſs bold and venturous at the Palace where cauſes are tryed, than at Court. He as impudently demanded of the Magiſtrates the entry of the Kings Letters, as he had ſolicited for them with the Queen Regent and her Miniſter. But the Rector and the Faculties of the Univerſity of *Paris* having formed their oppoſition againſt it, it was deferr'd till the year enſuing. 1611.

During a pretty long delay occaſioned by the Proceedings and Formalities of the Court, the Jeſuits picked up a matter of Fourſcore or an Hundred Scholars, whom they got inſtructed in the Colledge of *Clermont*. Well, at laſt the buſineſs muſt be tryed, and it came to be pleaded in a publick Audience. It was in the Month of *December*, 1611. *La Martiliere* Advocate for the Univerſity, made a long diſcourſe, wherein he emphatically repeated all that *Paſquier*, *Arnaud*, and the chief Preſident *de Harlay* had already ſpoken againſt the Jeſuits. He added thereto what People accuſed them to have done ſince, in *England*, *Holland*, at *Venice*, *Genua*, and elſewhere. Theſe good Fathers Divinity was not omitted: They made the corruption and danger thereof plainly appear. In fine, the Univerſity concluded by the mouth of their Advocate, that if ſo be the Parliament would have no regard to its ſound and wholeſome Remonſtrances, it would at leaſt have the comfort and ſatisfaction of having done its duty, and given more than once, by its reiterated oppoſitions againſt the Undertakings of the Society, a certain aſſured teſtimony of its ſincere and continued Affection for the

King's

1611. King's Service, and Common good of the Country. *Montholon*, Advocate for the Jeſuits, anſwered in a very ſuccinct Speech: Moreover, he affected to ſpeak ſo low, that the greateſt part of the Audience could not hear his defence. *Hardivilier* Rector of the Univerſity afterward pronounced a long harangue in Latin. It was rather a Rhetorical Declamation in a Colledge, than an Eloquent and Solid Diſcourſe. Laſt of all, the Advocate general, according to the uſual cuſtom ſpoke after all the reſt, and concluded in favour of the Univerſity of *Paris*.

The Parliament quite fatigued with the Jeſuits importunities, bethought themſelves of a pretty good expedient to deliver themſelves; they propoſed to them, to ſubſcribe to four points of Doctrine, contrary to *that* which Men imputed to them. *We cannot aggregate or incorporate you into the Univerſity, nor permit you to teach publickly therein*, ſaid the Magiſtrates to the Reverend Fathers, *unleſs your tenets be conformable to thoſe of the* Sorbonne. This reaſon was not contrived amiſs, they eaſily imagined and foreſaw that the Jeſuits durſt never ſign ſuch like propoſitions as theſe, for fear of haveing all *Rome* about their ears. And in caſe of a refuſal to do it, would clear the Parliament at Court, for not being willing to verifie the King's Letters. *Can* we, would the Magiſtrates have ſaid, *permit that company to teach publickly, that refuſeth to ſubſcribe to the common receiv'd Doctrine in* France? Therefore the Chief Preſident cauſed eight Jeſuits to be called into the Council Chamber, who attended there to hear the judgment upon their Cauſe. *Will you*, ſaies he, *ſubſcribe to theſe four propoſitions, and cauſe them to be ſign'd by your General.* The firſt imported, *that a general Council is above the Pope.* The ſecond, *that the Pope hath not any power over the temporals of Sovereigns, and that he cannot deprive them of the ſame by Excommunication.* The third, *that a Prieſt being informed, by way of confeſſion, of any Plot, or Conſpiracy againſt the King's perſon:*

And

And in ſhort, of any Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of Treaſon, is oblig'd to reveal it to the Magiſtrate. The fourth, *That Clergy-men, or Eccleſiaſtics are ſubject to the Temporal Prince, and Civil Magiſtrates.* 1611.

The Provincial of the Jeſuites did not know how to come handſomely off in this buſineſs. *In our Statutes*, ſays he, with a modeſt and devout air, taking up a Book, wherein he ſet himſelf to read ſome paſſages, *We have poſitive orders to conform to the Law of the Country wherein we live: but we can promiſe nothing for our Father General. We ſhall write to him concerning the buſineſs, and ſhall uſe our utmoſt endeavour to obtain his conſent.* The Advocate *Montholon*, perceiving to what a nonplus his Clients were put, had more preſence of mind than the good Father Provincial. *The Jeſuits*, ſays he, *will freely ingage themſelves to ſubmit to the Doctrine of the Faculty of Theology, and Statutes of the Univerſity; whenſoever theſe four propoſitions ſhall be ſigned by the* Sorbonne, *the Jeſuits will make no ſcruple to ſubſcribe thereto.* *Montholon* knew full well, that there ſtill were ſo many Leaguers in the *Sorbonne*, and ſo many Doctors wholly devoted to the Pope, that they would never conſent to theſe four propoſitions. Nay tho the Faculty of *Paris* had undertaken the ſigning of them, the Court would never have ſuffered them; it would have had ſome apprehenſion of offending the Pope. *Mary de Medicis* had too much reſpect, and deference for his Holineſs.

The chief Preſident himſelf being perplext by the Advocates reply, made as if he did not apprehend it: being ſatisfied that the Jeſuits did not clearly explain their meaning concerning what he had propos'd to them; the Chief Prefident pronounced the final Sentence, that prohibited the Jeſuits to inſtruct the youth in *Paris*, or reading any publick Lectures therein. The Academians triumphed, they made a thouſand Copies of verſes, ſome good, ſome bad, in praiſe of their Judges and Advocate. The Jeſuits obey the Decree; diſmiſs their

1611. their Scholars ; keep ſilence for a while, or at leaſt they write nothing but under the name of their Friends and Abettors. There they remained quiet, and comforted themſelves in their Diſgraces they made the imprudence of ſuch appear, who longed to renew unſeaſonable Diſputes, capable of ſeting *France* and the Pope together by the ears. Every one diſcourſed concerning the Act of Parliament, according to his reſpective prejudices ſome there were that took the Jeſuits part, others that of the Univerſity. Cardinal *Gonzague* was at that time at *Paris*, he took it very unkindly they ſhould ſpeak ſo very ill of theſe good men the Jeſuits. *Montholon*, who had with ſo low a voice pronounced his ſhort pleading to the Audience, cauſed a much larger one to be printed the year following. The whole diſcourſe was divided into three parts. In the two firſt was juſtified, and vindicated the Manners and Inſtitution of the Jeſuits. The third anſwer'd the objections made againſt the Doctrine of the Society, and the malevolous conſequences their Adverſaries endeavoured to draw from them.

Diſputes of Grace and Predeſtination.

The zeal which the Jeſuits declared, and expreſt about the cloſe of the laſt Century, and beginning of this, for the Doctrine contrary to that of St. *Auguſtin*, and *Thomas Aquinas*, touching matters of Grace and Predeſtination, did beſides draw upon the Society a great company of Enemies. The Advocate of the Univerſity, in his pleading caſt it in their teeth. Not only the order of the *Dominicans* that are more powerful in *Spain* and *Italy* than in *France*, where they ſneak in the duſt with other Mendicants, declared themſelves againſt the Jeſuits, but a great many Doctors of *Paris*, and *Louvain*, putting an high value upon St. *Auguſtin*, and their *Thomas Aquinas*, his Hypotheſis, declared likewiſe againſt the Society. It was cryed down as ſmelling of Pelagianiſm, *At leaſt*, they ſaid, *it goes about to receive the ſentiments and tenents of* Caſſian, *and the ancient Prieſts of* Marſeilles, *whom they call Semi-pelagians.*

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The diſpute begun in *Spain*, upon occaſion of a Book written by *Molina* a famous Jeſuit: This Author boaſted he had contrived a Syſteme for the reconciling the certainty of God's knowledge and operation of God's Grace, with Man's free-will: the invention mightily pleas'd the Society; they preſently adopt it. That was to derogate from the firſt Conſtitution and Laws of their Foundation, which injoyned them to follow *Tho. Aquinas* his Divinity. When the Jeſuits reproached their Adverſaries for maintaining the opinions of *Luther* and *Calvin*, condemned in the Council of *Trent*; They told the Fathers, *their hypotheſis was the ſame with that of St.* Auguſtin's *old enemies amongſt the Gauls.* 1611.

The conteſt grew ſo warm in *Spain*, that the buſineſs was carried to *Rome*. *Clement* VIII. reſolved to determine upon this Controverſie. They ſay, he prepared himſelf for it, not only by a ſerious examination of every queſtion, for which purpoſe he had called a famous Convention of Divines and Cardinals, but alſo by Prayer and Supplications, by Faſtings and extraordinary Mortifications. The holy Father ſuppoſed the Holy Ghoſt had already inſpired him to condemn the Tenet of the Jeſuits. The Bull was quite ready for it. But to ſpeak the language of the *Ultramontans*, God would not ſuffer *Clement* to put off to the Church, the illuſions of his own brain for Divine Oracles. The Pope dies in a very ſeaſonable time for the Jeſuits. *Paul* the V. being highly ſatisfied with the zeal thoſe good Men had ſhewn for the concerns of the Holy See, in the differences between him and the Republick of *Venice*, ſuppreſt the Bull of his Predeceſſor. He Impoſeth ſilence to the Dominicans and Jeſuits: Few Men beſides theſe two Orders had engaged in this firſt conteſt. The Univerſity of *Douay* and *Lovain* afterward declared themſelves againſt the Jeſuits; their Doctrine of Grace was cenſured there. Infine the treatiſe of *Janſenius* the Biſhop of *Ipres* occaſioned likewiſe a long and famous diſpute, both in the Faculty of *Paris*, and in the Gallican Church.

At

1611. At ſuch time as *Paul* the fifth indeavoured to put an end to the diſputes touching Grace and Predeſtination in his Church, the Proteſtants in *Holland* were divided into factions among themſelves about theſe points. *Luther*, and the firſt reformers had imbraced St. *Auguſtin*'s Hypotheſis, at the beginning: whether becauſe they were already prepoſſeſs'd with it, or becauſe it appeared to them the moſt proper, wherewithall to oppoſe the dogma's of the Church of *Rome*, and for eſtabliſhing thoſe of the Reformation, is uncertain. Yet *Luther* himſelf or at leaſt his firſt diſciples, quickly perceived the inconveniences, and fatal conſequences of the *Auguſtin* Syſtem. That of the primitive Greek Fathers ſeemed both more ancient and rational. *Melanchthon* takes it up, and by his moderate opinions much prevailed amongſt thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Ausbourgh*. *Calvin*, *Zanchius*, *Beza* and moſt part of the reformed Divines remained ſtrongly adhering to St. *Auſtin*'s Tenets, yea ſome of them there ſtretched them too far, and made uſe of harſher expreſſions. The rigid *Thomiſts* have done the like in the Roman Church. Towards the beginning of this Century, ſeveral reformed Divines opened their eyes, after the example of the *Lutherans*. After they had duely ſearcht and examined the Scriptures, the opinion of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and the primitive Greeks, appeared to them much preferrable to *that* of the Biſhop of *Hippon*, who certainly did not rightly underſtand neither the old nor new Teſtament.

The Books of *Eraſmus*, *Melanchthon*, & *Bullenger*, being very much eſteemed in *Holland*, theſe works had not a little contributed to make people reliſh the Reformation. The moſt ſenſible and underſtanding perſons of the Province, had a ſtonger inclination for the calm, moderate ſentiments of theſe Divines, upon Grace and Predeſtination, than for the hypotheſis of the rigid reformed. They believed at leaſt that they were very tollerable, and conſiſtent with the Reformation that Province had imbraced. Nevertheleſs the greater part of the

Mini-

Miniſters on the other hand, who had never ſtu- 1611.
dioufly apply'd themſelves to the buſineſs of Religion, but by reading the works of *Calvin* and *Beza*, obſtinately maintained the Doctrine of their Maſters, inſomuch, that there happened ſome notable and ſubſtantial differences in the principles between the Church Men and the Magiſtrates: both Parties formed to themſelves quite different notions of the thing they called *Reformation*, or *Reformed Doctrine*. The Miniſters by theſe words meant the *dogma*, or points of Divinity explained by their great Authors, inſerted in the Confeſſion of Faith, compiled by the firſt Reformers. Theſe Holy Men had very good intentions, their deſign was laudable, but then they had not obſerved that in delivering, in the forms of Faith, and in their Catechiſms, a Syſtem, and compleat and practical body of Divinity, they inſerted therein their own private ſpeculations as Infallible, Material, and Eſſential. The underſtanding part of the Magiſtrates and Laymen pretended on their part that the Reformation being only a more pure worſhip; diſingaged and freed from the frivolous, vain ſuperſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, together with a greater liberty as to the opinions that are not ſo clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures, Men could not ſay that the Reformation was grounded upon what this or that Perſon have thought concerning the moſt intricate, difficult and ſpinous queſtions in Divinity.

The Miniſters evermore headſtrong and fiery for upholding their opinions and prejudices, ever and anon railed againſt the Magiſtrates for their want of Zeal for the ſound Doctrin; and the latter again complained that the others were a parcel of obſtinate and inflexible Perſons, who would have every body implicitly and blindly embrace their particular ſentiments. When the Eccleſiaſtics ſummoned ſuch who withſtood the poſitions of *Calvin* and *Beza*, touching Predeſtination and Free-Grace, before the Magiſtrates, as a ſort of

people

1611. people who ſubverted the very foundation of the Reformation, the wiſeſt and moſt enlightened amongſt them, demanded of theſe new upſtart Inquiſitors, whether or no it was impoſſible to be a good reformed Chriſtian without embracing the tenets of St. *Auguſtine* and his Diſciples. Ever ſince the Reformation in *Holland*, thoſe ſentiments that are contrary to that Doctors Syſtems, always prevailed and got ground in the City of *Tergowe*. And the States of *Holland* had not ſo much as ſolemnly approved of the Confeſſion of Faith received in the Belgic Churches. Might not this be a ſufficient proof that theſe wiſe grave Senators believed that they had laid down in this form ſome Articles not abſolutely neceſſary, which ought to have been expreſt after a more gentle manner, leſs capable of giving offence to thoſe who could not ſwallow all the private ſentiments of the firſt Reformer; That ſeems more than probable when we read in the Hiſtory, that the States of *Holland*, otherwiſe much againſt the Convocation of a general Synod of the ſeven United Provinces, did, in the year 1591. conſent, that there ſhould be held the like Aſſembly, wherein the Confeſſion of Faith ſhould be diligently and exactly reviſed and corrected in the Spirit of Unity and Charity.

For my part, when I reflect upon the diſputes that have occaſioned ſo fatal a diviſion in *Holland*, I can ſcarce underſtand how Men of Parts are able to perſwade themſelves that the opinions of St. *Auguſtin* concerning predeſtination and Free-Grace, can be eſſential to the Reformation of Chriſtianity; there have been abundance of Godly pious Men, in the time of the greateſt purity in the Church, who have not altogether jumpt with this Father in his conceptions. Cannot a Man renounce the monſtrous and ridiculous dogma's of Tranſubſtantiation, the Religious worſhip of Saints and Images, the Fables of Purgatory, Indulgencies, the falſe Traditions of the Roman Church, and the Pope's Tyranny without believing

believing absolute Predestination, and irresistable Grace? Till honest Men who were sensibly affected with the absurdity and falshood of the aforesaid matters just now observed, embraced the Reformation in the foregoing Age; did ever the Bishop of *Hippo*'s position enter into their heads? Did they ever so much as set themselves seriously to examin whether it was true or false? These abstracted and difficult questions busied none but the Doctors, who took a fansie to draw up a compleat and accurate body of Divinity: Yea, and amongst those that gave themselves this trouble, there was several of them who upon a more strict Examination of the Holy Scriptures, and Ecclesiastical Antiquity, preferred the moderate opinions of the ancient Greek Fathers. *Calvin* himself was not perswaded that what he thought concerning Predestination and Free-Grace, was altogether essential to Religion. He took the pains to Translate into the *French* Tongue the *Common places* of *Melanchthon*, who dissents wholly from him, as to these matters. In his Preface he expatiates upon *Melanchthon*'s Encomium, and gives him all sorts of Praises imaginable: could he possibly have done it in Conscience, if he had been perswaded that the sentiments of the Author whom he Translated, did undermine the foundations of the Reformation? There are some able Learned Divines of the Reformation who have maintained, and that publickly, that *Tenets* of universal Grace, of a power of resisting its operations, of a conditional Predestination, are to be ranked in the number of those points that any body may believe, without renouncing the principles of Religion. 1611.

Some Learned *Hollanders* openly defended this Doctrine before ever *Arminius* Preached at *Amsterdam*; 'twas read in publick Lectures at *Leyden*, before *Gomarus* appeared against him. Their Works are still extant. 'Tis true, indeed, that some too hot headed Zealots stickled very much to blemish the Reputation of the Authors and their Works:

1611. But the States of *Holland* always put a ſtop to this impetuous Zeal. Some Profeſſors of *Leyden* aſſumed an entire liberty to teach in Conformity to *Melanchthon*'s Doctrine. Nay, and when *Arminius* was ſent for to the Univerſity, People were not unacquainted with his Sentiments; he had declared them in the Church at *Amſterdam*, which gave him very advantageous Teſtimonials: *Gomarus* himſelf, beſides ſeveral others of the ſame perſwaſion, having entered into Conference with *Arminius*, did not ſcruple to declare afterwards that the difference of opinions amongſt them did not any ways relate to the grounds of the Reformation. 'Tis true, *Gomarus* lived not long in good Intelligence with *Arminius*, his new Colleague, whether it was becauſe the reputation of the latter afforded ſome umbrage of ſuſpicion to the former, or whether *Arminius* his Enemies might have moved *Gomarus*'s ſpleen by ſome artificious inſinuation or other, is not known, but he ſtrongly oppoſed a Man whom a little before he looked upon as Orthodox.

It was not long before the two Profeſſors had their ſeveral Diſciples and Adherents. The conteſt became ſo great in *Leyden*, that the matter was brought before the Synod then held at *Rotterdam*. *Gomarus* his Party was the greater; the Aſſembly iſſued out an Order, that all the Paſtors ſhould ſubcribe to the Catechiſm, and Confeſſion of Faith. *Arminius* and his Abettors refuſed Obedience thereto. *There are ſome things in both that ought to be look'd over again, and reviſed*, ſay they: *The National Synod ſhould take the matter into conſideration, we hope they will aſſemble in a ſhort time.* In what method the queſtions in debate ſhould be treated of, and determined, adminiſtred freſh difficulties: Some of them required certain conditions, the others rejected them. Nevertheleſs, the ordinary Synods urged *Arminius* and his Partakers publickly to declare what they found fault with in the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſm, to the end that they might judge

judge of it in the Synods. *Arminius* being confident that his greateſt Antagoniſts would be his Judges in an Aſſembly of this nature, declined as much as poſſibly the Juriſdiction of the Synod. *Uytenbogard*, a Miniſter of no ſmall reputation at the *Hague*, his Friend, who ſeconded him in his ſentiments, was ſerviceable to him with the chief Perſons of the State. Never did Synod more reſemble the Council of *Trent* both in its Preliminaries, and perhaps, in every thing elſe, than this Synod of Dort, ſaving only that there were more able Divines at *Dort* than at *Trent* : Nor is it to be wondred at. All Councils in a manner reſemble one another, the ſelf ſame intereſt adminiſters opportunities, the ſame paſſions reign therein. 1611.

Arminius preſents a Petition to the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*, he therein demanded that the Council of the Province might take Cognizance of the Caſe. The Adverſaries on the contrary ſtiffly maintained, that a meer Theological Controverſie ought to be decided in an Eccleſiaſtic Aſſembly. *Arminius* gains his point. *Gomarus* and he had an hearing before the Magiſtrates: Theſe Gentlemen made their report to the States, that the things controverted between the two Parties, were only certain, nice, metaphiſical Queſtions touching Free-Grace and Predeſtination ; and that both Parties ſhould do better to lay aſide their Diſputes and Animoſities, and mutually bear with one another in the Spirit of Charity. *Gomarus* was not of that mind. *How!* ſays he, *The diſpute is of the greateſt importance imaginable.* I would not for all the World appear before the ſupream Tribunal of God with *Arminius* his principles: If the States do not think of a ſpeedy remedy to the miſchief ſuch a pernicious Doctrine is like to produce, We ſhall ſee Altar againſt Altar, City againſt City, and Province againſt Province : All will be in a confuſion and diſorder. The States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*, for the moſt part compoſed

1611. of extraordinary grave and understanding Persons, are not so apt to strike in with the passions of Divines. That leisure might be given to these over heated Spirits to cool a little, they deferred as long as they could the holding of the ordinary Synods: And when they were to have permission so to do, they made an order that they should not speak of the Questions controverted amongst the *Arminians* and *Gomarists*.

Notwithstanding *Arminius* and his Followers perceived themselves still urged by extream quick and zealous Adversaries, to communicate their observations upon the Confession of Faith and Catechism to other Ministers: Yea, and they went so far as even to threaten to proceed against 'em by way of Ecclesiastic Censures. The States of *Holland* that had a mind to stifle this unhappy difference, if possible, saw very well, that if *Arminius* published his reasons, it would only serve to inflame the dispute the more. The *Gomarists* would have refused them; the *Arminians* would have reply'd, The Synods would have had a Subject on which to have made their determination and decision.

Wherefore the States very discretly ordained that the *Arminian* Ministers should send their observations to the States themselves in Writing sealed up, to the intent they might be secured until the next Synod, which should be convoked extraordinarily for examining the Controversie. All that did not satisfie the *Gomarists*, they insisted positively that *Arminius* should explain himself. Behold him therefore at last demanding to have a fair hearing in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, being perswaded (as it happened indeed) that these Gentlemen would be indued with more Equity and Moderation than those propossess'd passionate Ministers. *Gomarus* and he appeared together: *Arminius* explained his thoughts about the principal Articles of Religion, and more particularly upon Predestination and Grace, upon Man's Liberty, upon the certainty of Salvation, and upon the perseverance

ſoverance of the regenerate. He did not omit to make it appear withal, that his Adverſaries opinion is contrary to the Juſtice and Mercifulneſs of God, that it deveſts a man of that liberty God hath beſtowed on him, that it is capable of drawing ſinners to deſpair, to detain them in impenitence, to extinguiſh Love, and the fervency of Prayer in Believers; that it renders the remonſtrances of the Goſpel Miniſters ineffectual. In a word, that it overthrows the very foundations of all Morality, of all Religion. *Arminius* ſpoke nothing new: Some Pious and Knowing Men amongſt the *Gauls* in former ages made the ſame objections againſt the *Novel* Doctrine that St. *Auguſtine* introduced into the Weſt. After that *Gomarus* ſpoke, he being convinced that the ſolid proofs *Arminius* uſed muſt needs make a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Spirits of the States, ſuppoſed he could evade the force of them by ill language, which at the bottom ſignified nothing at all. *Is it not a lamentable thing*, ſays he, *that a Profeſſor of our Univerſity undertakes to inſpire his Auditors with the Jeſuits Maxims, to invalidate the proofs which our Primitive Reformers have alledged, to ruin the Reformation by improving and urging the Papiſts arguments againſt us?* Such Declamations as theſe are only fit to ſtir up the ignorant Rabble, what! can the Jeſuits ſpeak never a word of Truth? What! were *Calvin*, *Beza*, and the reſt only infalible? Hath not the Reformation more ſolid foundations than ſome ſpeculative queſtions of Grace and Predeſtination? The States gave no great heed to *Gomarus*'s diſcourſe. His complices being confident they might have greater advantage in an Aſſembly of Divines, perſiſted in their demands, that the conteſt might be decided in a Synod; but the States had juſt cauſe to fear what might be the iſſue of it. The Experience of divers Ages teaches us, that a Council does rather foment a diviſion than appeaſe it. 1611.

1611. The way of Conferences ſeemed to the States the leſs dangerous: The two Profeſſors of *Leyden* had an order to make a Perſonal appearance at the *Hague*. That happened in the year 1610. *Arminius* took four Miniſters with him, and *Gomarus* the like number: They being come, into preſence of the States of *Holland*, *Arminius* began to reduce the Controverſie into five principal points, which afterward were the five famous Articles of the *Arminians*, upon Predeſtination, the neceſſity of ſaving Grace, the dying of Jeſus Chriſt for all Men, and upon the operation of Grace in us, and upon perſeverance to the end: At the cloſe of his Conference, Men were not ſurpriſed to ſee what almoſt always comes to paſs on ſuch occaſions, the ſpirits of Men became more hot than ever. *Arminius* fell ſick upon it, and he died ſhortly after. His Diſciples and Followers aſſerted what he had begun to broach: They confidently Preached what they thought. They refuted the *Gomariſts* with abundance of ſtrength of argument and vigor. In fine, they re-united in a more ſtrict Combination: then it was they concerted a *Remonſtrance* to be preſented unto the States of *Holland*, therein they expoſed to view their own ſentiments, with thoſe of the *Gomariſts*, concerning the five Articles; after which, they moſt humbly beſeech'd the States to grant 'em their protection againſt all the Condemnations wherewith the Synod had a mind henceforward to blaſt the Doctrine and Perſon of *Arminius*. Ever ſince that Remonſtrance, they gave them the name of *Remonſtrants*.

In the mean time a Succeſſor muſt be choſen for the Divinity Chair of *Leyden*. *Vorſtius* Profeſſor and Miniſter of *Steinfurt* was elected by the prevailing credit of the Remonſtrants. That did them an extream prejudice. *Verſtius* was ſhrewdly ſuſpected of Socinianiſm, and that not not without ſome ground: He had moreover publiſhed a Book wherein he talked of the Divine Nature

Nature after a moſt abſurd and groſs manner. From that very time the *Gomariſts* accuſed their Adverſaries for ſecretly favouring *Socinus* his impieties. Their complaints ſeemed not ill grounded. They obtained ſuch disadvantageous Teſtimonials of *Vorſtius*, that he was not in a capacity to be admitted into the functions of his employ, notwithſtanding he was legally called according to due manner and form, and produced Authentic atteſtations. In the year 1611 there was a more famous Conference than the others at the *Hague*, in preſence of the States of *Holland*. Thoſe Gentlemen would have been willing to have pacified the diſturbance without having need of bringing it before an extraordinary Synod. But your Divines are not ſo eaſily ſtop'd in their Career, when their imaginations are once upon the Spur. There were ſix *Gomariſt* Miniſters on the one ſide, and ſix Remonſtrants on the other: The Learned *Epiſcopius* was one of them. This ſame Perſon defended his Party to a Miracle, yet hath he done it a great deal of injury. Although he hath not the ſame notion with *Socinus* about the Trinity, Incarnation; about the Nature and Operation of God; yet he maintains, that the Socinian Doctrine is tolerable, and that it is not inconſiſtent with the fundamental Articles of Chriſtianity. The *Arminians* in *Holland* have embraced this Doctrine, which makes many People believe, that there is but a ſtep between Arminianiſm and Socinianiſm: Theſe two things, notwithſtanding, are very different. We ſee pretty often in the Church of *England* many Learned Divines who have the ſame notions with the Arminians, as to the five Articles. who defend mightily the determinations and deciſions of the four firſt general Councils. 1611.

1611. I ſhall not ſpeak of this Conference at the *Hague*. It produc'd no better effect than the preceeding ones. *Vorſtius* appear'd at it, He made an elaborate Speech to juſtifie himſelf from the errors laid to his Charge. Theſe Gentlemen were ſatisfi'd with it. Then they ask the Miniſters of both parties if they had any more to offer againſt *Vorſtius*: The *Remonſtrants* declared plainly, they judged him Orthodox, but the others ſpoke ſo many things againſt him, they cauſed ſo many oppoſitions to be interpoſed, that he could do nothing, altho the States were well affected towards him. That of *James* I. King of Great *Britain*, made a great noiſe throughout *Europe*. Some body preſented *Vorſtius* his Books to his Majeſty, at ſuch time as he was divertiſing himſelf in hunting in the Country; he perus'd them in leſs than an hour, but ſo many Hereſies did ſo manifeſtly appear to him, that he immediately diſpatch'd an extract of them to his Embaſſadors of *Holland* with expreſs order to declare to them in his name, that if they ſuffer'd ſuch a dangerous fellow at *Leyden*, his Majeſty would publiſh a *Manifeſto*, to let the world underſtand the averſion he had againſt Authors who diſperſe ſuch like Hereſies, and againſt thoſe who permit them to be publickly taught in their Univerſities.

James K. of England oppoſed the Election of Vorſtius.

The Embaſſador punctually executed what his Maſter commanded him; the States General were ſomewhat ſurpris'd, that the King ſhould intermedle in an affair purely domeſtique. Yet one cannot blame the zeal that a Prince expreſſes for the purity of the Faith. Yea, and he doth well to extend it beyond the limits of his Kingdom. But when all comes to all there are meaſures to be kept with Allies and Neighbours. This menace of his Britanique Majeſty was very peremptory and daring. The States General ſomewhile after deliver'd their Anſwer to the Embaſſador, to this effect. *If* Vorſtius, ſay they with abundance of prudence and reſpect, *be guilty of the errors whereof he is accuſed, we ſhall not ſuffer him to teach publickly*

in Holland. *The high opinion we entertain of the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of the King of* Great Britain, *gives us occaſion to believe your Majeſty will be ſatisfied with our conduct, when your Majeſty ſhall be rightly informed of the matter of fact, and of the integrity of our intentions.* Nevertheleſs, *James* cauſed *Vorſtius* his Books to be burnt at *London*, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. The anſwer of the States General did not ſatisfie him, he writ a long Letter to them, to exhort them to baniſh *Vorſtius* out of their Provinces. *Arminius* is treated with the title, *of the Enemy of God*: As for *Vorſtius*, his Majeſty looks upon him as no better than Antichriſt; he concludes his Letter with threatning the States General, to ſeperate from their Churches, in caſe they ſuffer'd ſuch an abominable wretch as *Vorſtius* there. 1611.

He had already taken Lodgings at *Leyden*, before they had receiv'd King *James*'s Letter: His Embaſſador alſo made a long remonſtrance upon his delivering it to the States General. He delivered them the propoſitions which his Majeſty had extracted from *Vorſtius* his Books, and he earneſtly exhorted them that they would expreſs no leſs Zeal and Courage for preſerving the purity of Faith againſt ſo pernicious an Heretique, than they had made appear for the defence of their liberty againſt the *Spaniards*. The States General knew not what to think either of the Letter, or of the formal harangue: They anſwered the Embaſſador that the buſineſs in debate, related to the particular States of *Holland*, being Sovereign in their own Province; that *Vorſtius* lived at *Leyden*, only as a mere Inhabitant of the City, till ſuch time as he could clear himſelf in the next Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*. *Upon the whole*, ſay they, *we moſt humbly thank his Majeſty for his affection for the welfare of theſe Prvinces, and the preſervation of the Purity of the Goſpel in our Churches.*

1611. The States of *Holland* were not to assemble till within three or four Months. That made the English Embassador suppose this delay might be a downright refusal. Out comes a new remonstrance from the King his Master to the States General, and with a Text to boot, in the nature of a Sermon. The Embassador begun it at that part of the Gospel which ordains fraternal correction, and that he that will not hear should be complained of to the Church. And then he complain'd of the little respect they shewed to his Britanique Majesty, in receiving *Vorstius*, not only into the Country, but also into so famous an University. The States General were again menaced with another *Manifesto*, on the part of his Britanique Majesty: However these Gentlemen keep their Phlegm still: They answer that his Majesty should have satisfaction the very next Assembly of the States of *Holland*. It was to be held in the month of *February* the year following.

The King of England's apology upon his conduct in the business of Vorstius.

Nevertheless, the good King perceived that his zeal against *Vorstius* had not met with such a favourable construction in the world as he expected it should; the malignants accused him for pretending on this occasion to make his great ability in Divinity appear. Others they were of the opinion that his ambition had swaid with him to encroach upon the liberty of the United Provinces, and that he had intermedled in an affair, whereof a Sovereign was not obliged to give an account to his Neighbours. This year the King of *Sweden* challeng'd the K: of *Denmark*, to a Duel: A thing that has not been heard of since the time of *Francis* the first, and *Charles* the fifth. King *James* loved fighting another way: to justifie himself from the sinister construction men put upon his Conduct, he sets pen to paper, and causes an Apology to be printed. The King does therein give an account of what passed between him and the States General; his Majesty protested moreover, that he had had no other inducements, than to oppose the progress of a growing Heresie, to give the States General

fresh

freſh teſtimonies of his good will, and to prevent young *Hollanders*, and even the Engliſh themſelves, who went to Study at *Leyden*, from being infected with the pernicious principles which *Vorſtius* would not have fail'd to have ſpread abroad. It faired with the King's Apology, as with thoſe Books Authors write concerning their perſonal difference: Every one believes of them what he pleaſes. 1611.

Let us conclude this year, at the death of *Charles* the IX. King of *Sweden*, and let us ſpeak ſomething touching his elevation to the Throne. He was youngeſt Son to *Guſtavus Ericſon*, ſo famous in Hiſtory, for having delivered his Country from the oppreſſion of the *Danes*, for having merited, by his ſignal ſervices, the Crown of *Sweden* for himſelf and Male Children of his Body lawfully begotten; and finally for ſettling the *Luthera* Religion in his Country, and curbing the exceſſive Power of the Clergy. *Eric* eldeſt Son of *Guſtavus* ſucceeded him: but he inherited none of the heroic Vertues of his Father, he introduced the dignities of Count and Baron into the Kingdom, unknown heretofore in *Sweden*. It was believed to be deſign'd for the dividing of the Nobility, and ſo to put them at variance one with another. The too great Union of this Powerful Body might create ſome trouble to a family newly raiſed to the Throne. Dignities granted to ſome adminiſtred jealouſies to others. Thoſe who had the moſt ambition, courted the King to obtain the ſame diſtinction: And the upſtart Nobility, were under an abſolute neceſſity to maintain the King's authority, and to be intirely reſigned to his family, to preſerve their new Prerogatives. *Eric* rendred himſelf odious by his Cruelties, and deſpicable by his debauchery and diſorderly Spirit: the ill treatment that *John* Duke of *Finland*, and *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania* his Brethren met with at his hands, obliged them to be up in Arms againſt him, & to put themſelves at the head of the Male contents. The two Princes went to attacque *Eric*, as far as *Stock-*

Revolutions that happened in Sweden *afer the death of* Guſtavus Ericſon.

Puffendorffs *introduction to Hiſtory*, tom. 3. part. 1. ch. 59. 60 61.

1611. *Stockholm.* He firſt of all delivered up to them his Favorite, of whom the whole Kingdom in general complained. They puniſhed him with an ignominious Death

John and *Charles* had a mind to go farther; they agreed together, to deprive *Eric* of the Sovereign Power, who unjuſtly abuſed it, that the Duke of *Finland* ſhould be declared King, and that he ſhould divide the adminiſtration of Affairs with the Duke of *Sudermania*, without pretending to wear any exterior badges of Royalty. *John* believed himſelf diſcharged from the Oath he took when *Eric* brought him out of the cloſe Priſon, where he had detained him for three or four years. The Duke had bound himſelf to be always Loyal to the King, not to aſpire to the Crown, neither before nor after the death of the King his Eldeſt Brother, and to acknowledge the Children which *Eric* begot of one of his Miſtreſſes of very low Parentage, (whom he ſince ſolemnly Married) for Legitimate Heirs to the Crown: But *John* never ſtood much upon religiouſly keeping his promiſes. When he got his eldeſt Son into his hands, he was not content to have ſhut him up in a Caſtle; but likewiſe Poyſon'd him. *John* and *Charles* continued before *Stockholm.* The Senate ſurrendered the Town, and poor *Eric* being reduced to the laſt extremity delivered himſelf up to the diſcretion of his Brethren. The States of *Swedland* declared that he had forfeited the Crown, and *John* Duke of *Finland* was put into his place.

John K. of Sweden *endeavours an alteration of the Religion eſtabliſh'd by his Father.*

The new King was no leſs falſe to the Duke of *Sudermania*, to whom he gave ſhare of the Government, than he had been to his Predeceſſor. When a Crown is ones Aim, he'll boggle at no promiſe; but if once he comes to wear it, he finds himſelf inſpired with new principles of Honour and Religion. *John* had taken to Wife *Catherina Iagellon*, Daughter to the King of *Poland.* Whether it were that this Princeſs had eſtrang'd him from the Proteſtant Religion; or that reading of

Books

Books, or converſe with ingenious perſons of the other Communion, had made him entertain doubts; or in fine, that he deſign'd to make himſelf King of *Poland* after the death of *Sigiſmond Auguſtus* his Brother-in-Law, who had no Iſſue; certain it is that after he had by the Treaty at *Stetin* in *Pomerania* made Peace with *Denmark*, he applied himſelf in earneſt to the changing of the Religion eſtabliſh'd by his Father in *Sweden*. I will not here enumerate the Artifices he us'd to diſpoſe the peoples minds for the deſign'd alteration; I will only obſerve, that this King, who was both diſcerning, and judicious, was ever of opinion, that the Roman Worſhip and Theology wanted to be reform'd in many things. He was neither a good Catholick, nor true Proteſtant: but being ever uncertain and wavering; ſometimes he approved the *Caſſandrian* accommodation, a project whereof had been preſented to *Maximilian* the ſecond, and at other times he ſeemed inclin'd toward the Greek Church. The Anſwer of *Jeremy* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to the *Wittemberg* Divines, pleas'd him ſo well, that he had thoughts of joyning himſelf to that Communion. 1611.

Poſſevin that Learned Jeſuit, whom Pope *Gregory* XIII. had ſent to *Sweden*, believed he had indeed united K. *John* to the Church of *Rome*: he had made Confeſſion to him, and communicated after the Roman way. *Poſſevin* had impos'd upon him as penance for the Muther of his Brother *Eric*, to faſt all *Wedneſdays* in the year, which, as is reported, he obſerv'd during the remainder of his Life. However he ceaſed not to obſerve the publick worſhip in the *Swediſh* Churches, where he caus'd to be us'd a new Liturgy, which the Pope refus'd to approve. The mixture of the two Religions that was therein made, was one of the chief policies he us'd to draw inſenſibly the people to abandon the Faith of the Proteſtants of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion.

The

1611. The Irreſolution and indulgence of King *John*, drew thither ſeveral of the Popiſh Clergy. Many people reſorted to their Sermons, thereby favouring his deſigns and diſſimulation: Some took them for French Proteſtants; but others of the more diſcerning ſort, in ſpite of all their diſguiſing, obſerv'd them to inſinuate into the people Popiſh Doctrines. The Archbiſhop of *Upſal* ſuffer'd himſelf to be gain'd, whoſe example was followed by many Prelates and Eccleſiaſticks, either out of Ignorance or Ambition. Some Biſhops alſo were ordain'd after the Roman Rites. The Biſhop of *Linkoping*, with ſeveral of his Brethren, and a great number of inferiour Clergy did courageouſly ſtand up for the Reformation eſtabliſh'd by King *Guſtavus Ericſon*: the reſolution of thoſe of *Sudermania* ſurpris'd the King: his Brother *Charles* openly declar'd for the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, with all his might oppoſing the alteration. *Neither the King nor I*, ſaid he to thoſe who were ſent from the King to ſhake his ſtedfaſtneſs, *can alter any thing in the Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law; all things being ſo well order'd by the will of the deceas'd King our Father: to that we ought to ſtand, and for my part I am reſolv'd never to depart from it.*

The Eſtates of *Sweden* in many things were very ſtiff. They repreſented to the King that there were great jealouſies both in *Sweden* and foreign Countries, that he had a deſign to change the Religion wiſely eſtabliſhed by his Father; and that to quiet theſe Rumors, he behoov'd publickly to declare that the Reformation receiv'd, was conformable to the ſentiments of the Primitive Church: they order'd alſo the ſuppreſſion of many popiſh books that had been imported: and urg'd the King to place in publick Schools Men Learned and Unblamable for inſtructing the youth: and infine, they demanded that *Sigiſmond* the King's eldeſt Son ſhould be brought up in the Proteſtant Religion, whom they already miſtruſted. The Queen had ſo inſtill'd

ſtill'd into him the principles of the Roman Church, that the Senators having one day threatn'd him with the loſs of the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, unleſs he did ſuddenly abandon the Religion wherewith he was prepoſſeſs'd, to embrace the *Ausburg* Confeſſion. *I eſteem*, anſwer'd he, *the Kingdom of Heaven above all the Crowns upon Earth.* 1611.

On other occaſions the Eſtates were more complaiſant to the King. They ſeem'd diſpos'd to receive his new Liturgy, and the Accommodations he had made: Only *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, with the Clergy of his Provinces and ſome great Lords, defended the Reformation. The Reputation of the Duke, and his powerful perſwaſions, brought back thoſe whom hope or fear had made leſs fervent and zealous. Even the King himſelf had no longer the ardour, with which *Poſſevin* the Jeſuit had inſpir'd him: Whether it was that he diſlik'd the haughty humour of *Sixtus* V. who ſucceded *Gregory* XIII. or that his doubts had never been ſufficiently clear'd; or that he feared the great Authority of his Brother: He humbled the Roman Catholicks, who now reckoned themſelves Maſters; baniſh'd the Jeſuits, and pull'd down their Colledge. *Gennila Bielke*, whom he married after the Death of Queen *Catherin*, cool'd the paſſion he had formerly for the Roman Religion. Kings oftentimes believe themſelves guided by their own underſtanding, when they are only inſpir'd by the Addreſs and Inſinuation of a cunning Woman. The King thought he had weighty reaſons to doubt of the Proteſtant Religion; when himſelf was ignorant of the powerful motive, which was only his Complaiſance for Queen *Catharin*: And in time he was brought to his firſt Religion by the paſſion he had for his ſecond Wife.

Sigiſmond *Prince of* Sweden *is choſen King of* Poland.

After the death of *Steven Battori* King of *Poland*, his Widow *Ann Jagellon*, and Aunt to Prince *Sigiſmond* of *Sweden*, manag'd the Poliſh Nobility ſo, that the greateſt part declared for the Prince

1161. Prince. A contrary part choſe the Archduke *Maximilian*, Brother to *Rodolph* the Emperor: But *Sigiſmond* carry'd the day. He was receiv'd in *Poland*, and defeated the Archduke: who being made Priſoner, redeem'd his liberty by renouncing all claim to the Poliſh Crown. The *Swedes* made their Conditions with the Prince before his Departure; as the *Polanders* had done theirs before they receiv'd him. The principal thing which the Senate of *Sweden* requir'd of *Sigiſmond*, was the preſervation of the priviledges and Religion of the Country. To the Agreement was added this Clauſe, that if after he was become King of *Sweden* by the death of his Father, he ſhould receed from any of the Articles now agreed upon, the *Swedes* ſhould be free from Allegiance.

It was very probable that *Sigiſmond*, before he went from *Sweden*, had perſwaded his Father to accompliſh the deſign he had taken, a little after his coming to the Crown, to cauſe his new Liturgy and the ancient Cerimonies to be receiv'd. When Princes have once made open ſhew of an attempt, they with difficulty abandon it, and reſume it upon the leaſt appearance of ſucceeding. *Sigiſmond* therefore hoped that he might more eaſily perfect what his Father had begun; who fortified by the new Alliance of *Poland*, flattered himſelf that the Duke his Brother, would not dare any longer to withſtand him. But in this he was deceiv'd: For the Clergy of *Sudermania* being altogether of one mind with their Prince, refuſed to receive the Liturgy. This gave the King great jealouſie, being embroil'd more than ever with his Brother: And made him think in earneſt of recalling *Sigiſmond*. The new King therefore is ſolicited to return: which he willingly would have done, had not the *Poles* vehemently oppoſed it. A ſtrange Prince is eaſily dazled with the glorious name of a King of *Poland*; but upon nicer view he is ſoon undeceived, of the deceitful ſplendor of a Crown that ſparkles only at a diſtance.

ſtance. Thoſe who have left their hereditary effects, to go to *Poland*, have been convinced of the vanity of hazarding the loſs of a real Soveraignty, for a Title that has more Pomp than Reality. This *Sigiſmond* found by his own Experience. 1611.

The King his Father finding ſo great reſiſtance from the *Swedes*, who ſince the Election of *Sigiſmond*, had more than ever been on their guard againſt the Church of *Rome*; ſaw no other Remedy, but be reconcil'd to the Duke of *Sudermania*: and give him a ſhare of the Govenment. The King's jealouſie ſeem'd to be leſſen'd, after the death of his Brother's Wife, who left no Children behind her: and he pretended that the Duke had promis'd him not to think of a ſecond Marriage. If this was true, the Duke falſified his word in his turn: For not long after he married *Chriſtina* Daughter to *Adolphus* Duke of *Holſten*. 'Tis reported that ſhe was courted by *Sigiſmond*, before he went to *Poland*; but that he was diſſwaded by his Father's Siſter from that Alliance. He married afterwards *Conſtantia* of *Auſtria*, the Daughter of *Charles* and Siſter of *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Gratz* in *Stiria*. *Chriſtina* incenſed with the Affront, had ſuch an averſion for *Sigiſmond*, that after the Marriage with the Duke, ſhe inceſſantly urged him to take the Crown of *Sweden* from *Sigiſmond*. King *John* was much diſpleaſed with his Brother's ſecond Marriage: But he ſoon after ended his diſcontent with his Life at *Stockholm*.

Sigiſmond *King of* Poland *ſucceeds to the Kingdom of* Sweden.

The Duke of *Sudermania* upon receiving the news thereof makes haſte: And ſets at liberty the Senators, and thoſe of the Clergy whom the deceaſed King had impriſon'd for oppoſing his deſigns. *Sigiſmond* greatly miſtruſted his Uncle: to hinder him, therefore, from attempting any thing, he wrote that he was preparing himſelf without delay, to come and take poſſeſſion of his hereditary Dominions. Nevertheleſs, his Uncle takes upon him the Adminiſtration, as neareſt of blood to the King. The deceaſed King had

1611. left another Son, of the second Marriage, named *John*: But he was not yet of age. The Senators of *Sweden*, without prejudice to their Oath to *Sigiſmond*, promiſed to obey the Duke in whatſoever, with their conſent, he ſhould order for the glory of God, the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and maintaining the Liberty and priviledges of the Country. He on his part engaged to do nothing of importance without the Advice and Conſent of the Senate. An Aſſembly of the Clergy was ſuddenly called, at *Upſal*, for ordering the affairs of Religion: There the Liturgy and Ceremonies brought in by the late King were aboliſh'd, and theſe of the Proteſtants of the *Ausburgh* Confeſſion reſtor'd: An Archbiſhop was choſen, who was well affected; and thoſe of the Clergy who had ſerved the late King depos'd. At this Aſſembly only the *Swedes* and *Goths* were preſent, other Provinces being affraid to diſpleaſe the King, if they ſhould do any thing without his conſent. The Decrees of the Council were ratified by the Duke of *Sudermania*, and by the Senate, Clergy Nobility, Miniſters of State, and Burgo-maſters, that were preſent: thoſe who were abſent ſubſcribed afterwards.

Puffendorf's *Introduction to Hiſtory* tom. 4. part. 2. ch. 1.

Sigiſmond and his Uncle kept a ſtrict Eye over one another. The Nephew did ſo much the more miſtruſt the Uncle, in regard he had, thro his ſolicitation, been required, before he ſhould take journey for *Sweden*, to give a promiſe ſigned with his hand to confirm the Liberties and Priviledges of the Eſtates of the Realm, and to allow them the Liberty of their Religion, which they enjoyed under the Reign of *Guſtavus Erickſon*, and in the beginning of that of the late King. The Duke had alſo advertis'd his Nephew that the Condition of the Realm, would not allow him to bring much people with him. Theſe things enflam'd the jealouſie of *Sigiſmond*; who belived that his Uncle had already obſerved the vaſtneſs of his deſign. However, he reſolved to ſlight his Remonſtrances. But the Duke hoped more

more than ever to perplex the new King, when he saw that the *Poles* would not consent that *Sigismond* should go to his Hereditary Dominions, but on condition that he would stand to his antient Oath, not to abandon *Poland*, after the example of *Henry* III. King of *France*; and that he would return so soon as he had ordered the Affairs of *Sweden*, and that he would keep his ordinary Residence in *Poland*. 1611.

The *Swedes* were much displeased that the new King had plainly declared, that the Decrees made at *Upsal*, in his absence, and without his consent, were void: He was received however, with Joy and Affection. Duke *Charles* withdrew as soon as he had made him the usual Complements, being willing to leave him alone with the Council of the Kingdom. The Pope's Nuncio that accompanied the King, gave violent suspicions to the *Swedes*, and it soon appeared that his Ears were open to the Counsels of the Court of *Rome*. He made void the Regulations made at *Upsal*, and order'd that another Arch-bishop should be elected; that had formerly been chosen, being, as he pretended, an enemy to the late King. In fine, he required that the Roman Catholicks should be allowed a Church in every City. The Estates of the Kingdom, and Clergy, violently opposed his Designs, knowing that they would be protected by the Duke of *Sudermania*. When the Coronation drew near, the Senators, in the name of the Estates of *Sweden*, demanded that the King would first promise in writing, that he would not infringe the Priviledges of the Kingdom, or Liberty of the protestant Religion: To which he only returned in general Terms, that he would give satisfaction to his Subjects after his Coronation. Those difficulties retarded the Ceremony.

Broils between K. Sigismond and the Duke.

Liberty and Independency are desired by all; but only for themselves: and so far are we from procuring it to others, that we endeavour what we can to bring them under. The polish No-

1611. bility who are jealous of their own Priviledges and Liberty, but accuſtomed to hold their People in Slavery, without intermiſſion, told their King, that an Hereditary Kingdom is otherwiſe governed than an Elected one; that in *Poland* he was ſubjected to the Laws; but he ought to be maſter in *Sweden*. Such Maxims did eaſily inſinuate themſelves into the breaſt of a Prince, who, mortified by his dependance on the *Poliſh* Senate, earneſtly affected an abſolute Command in *Sweden*. He rejected therefore all their demands. The Duke had appeared at firſt neuter: He Counſelled indeed the King to have regard to the juſt deſires of his Subjects; but he was not ſorry that he embroil'd himſelf with them by his refuſals and delay. The Eſtates confiding in the Duke's Aſſiſtance, would remit nothing of their demands: The Kings obſtinacy did extreamly provoke them; and the Sermons of the Preachers that were zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, did animate the moſt indifferent. They diſcourſe of preſenting the Crown to the Duke, and if he ſhould not accept it, to Prince *John*. The Duke not judging it yet time to give ear to ſuch a Propoſal, was contented to go to the King in his Caſtle at *Upſal*, and ſtrongly to back the pretenſions of the Eſtates. The Nephew and Uncle, were ſo incenſed, the one againſt the other, that they were upon the point of fighting: However, they were parted, and quickly reconciled again, for preventing confuſion and diſorder in the Kingdom. Theſe Accidents ſtill confirmed the States in their reſolution to make the King explain himſelf, before they proceeded to the Coronation.

The Pope's Nuncio and the *Poles* that were about *Sigiſmond*, adviſed him to yield to neceſſity, ſeeing it was not prudential any longer to ſtand out. *Ye are not obliged to perform*, ſay they, *a promiſe extorted by violence*. *Sigiſmond* therefore grants all, reſerving only to himſelf the exerciſe of his Religion in his own Caſtle. From this time forth he

he reſolves the death of his Uncle: But his de- 1611.
ſign to Aſſaſſinate him at the Play having miſcarried, he endeavours to draw him to open force. The *Poliſh* Troops have orders to march to *Stockholm*. The Eſtates in the mean time for their ſecurity, call to their aſſiſtance the Inhabitants of the Mountains. During theſe troubles the King took no reſolution, either concerning the Government, or for the Peace of the Kingdom, but ever when one thing was propoſed to him, he demanded of them another. In the Interim the *Poles* importune him to withdraw without doing any thing, flattering themſelves with the thoughts, that *Sweden* would be the more eaſily reduced, the more divided and embroiled it was. *Sigiſmond* therefore embark'd for *Dantzick*, leaving orders for the Government of the Realm in his abſence. But neither the Duke of *Sudermania*, nor the Eſtates would obey them; judging them inconſiſtent with the Treaty at *Upſal* before the Kings Coronation.

Not long after his departure, the Senate pray- *The Eſtates give the Government to the D. of* Sudermania, *in the Kings abſence.*
ed *Charles* to take upon him the management of Sweden Affairs. The Duke deſired to be excus'd, alledging, that neither the love of his Country, nor his Conſcience would allow him to purſue the Orders left by his Nephew: but this he only did to make them more urgent. The Authority of the Senate was to be well nigh equal to his own; and Governours of Towns had almoſt an abſolute power. This *Sigiſmond* had brought about to marr his Uncle's deſigns, who could not away with it: He hoped therefore that they would depart from their Priviledges, and give him more power over the Governours of Cities. This they do: And he pretending to be overcome by the preſſing Solicitations of the Senate, goes to *Stockholm*. *The beſt form of Government*, ſaid he, *is to put in execution what the King is indiſpenſably obliged to obſerve himſelf. Ought he to be obeyed when he gives Orders contrary to the Oath he has made us?* Being at *Stockholm* he turn'd out the

1611. Governour thereof, becauſe he was a *Roman* Catholick, and prohibited the exerciſe of that Religion in the place; he made conſiderable Preſents to the Senators, gave Penſions to the Biſhops and Profeſſors of Colledges, and gained the Clergy and Inhabitants of the City by his ſweetneſs and civilities. Here his Wife *Chriſtina* was delivered of a Son: At his Baptiſm he got the name of *Guſtavus Adolphus*. The Ceremony was followed by a Magnificent Entertainment for the Senate and principal Nobility. The famous Aſtronomer *Tycho Brache* promiſed a Crown to the young Prince. This was ſufficient to raiſe the expectations of the Father and Mother, for, when a difficult and glorious Enterpriſe is deſigned, the moſt uncertain preſage appears as an infallible Aſſurance.

The Duke of *Sudermania* judging a Convocation of the States neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment of his Authority, together with the Senate, wrote to *Sigiſmond* for that effect, pretending that the diſorders of *Sweden* did call for it. The King making no Anſwer, his ſilence was conſtrued either a conſent, or unjuſt refuſal, in which laſt Caſe the chief Officers of the Kingdom affirmed, that the Laws of the Realm allowed them to convocate the Eſtates: and accordingly they aſſemble at *Sudermania*. When the King had received the News thereof, he endeavoured to ſtop their Proceedings, declaring he would never give his Aſſent to the reſolutions of a Convention held againſt his Will.: But little regard was had to what he did, for the Eſtates declared their Convocation lawful and neceſſary to the welfare of the Realm. They reſolved to ſuffer no Religion in *Sweden*, but that of the Proteſtants, according to the *Ausburg* Confeſſion: That the Roman worſhip ſhould be every where aboliſhed, and that the Prieſts of that Communion ſhould depart the Realm in fifteen days. The Duke of *Sudermania* was declared Regent during the Kings abſence, with this reſtriction, that he

ſhould

ſhould manage Affairs in Conjunction with the Senate. Several Laws moreover were made for preſerving the priviledges of the Kingdom; and thoſe who ſhould refuſe Obedience, were declared Enemies to the Country, and Diſturbers of the publick Peace. 1611.

The Duke and the Swediſh Senate fall out.

The Government of the Duke appear'd ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that *Sigiſmond* had now no other game to play, but to throw jealauſie aud diviſion between him and the Senate; which was ſo much the eaſier to do in regard that the D. had harboured a ſuſpicion, that the Senators kept Intelligence with the Province of *Finland*, which ſtood out for the King. They complain'd that the Duke order'd all things by his own fancy, and mal-treated all thoſe who oppoſed him. He, on the other ſide, alledged, that the Senators did miſ-manage the Revenues of the Realm, and put diviſion between the King and himſelf, with deſign to ruin both, and make themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom. He pretends therefore, that he would quit the Adminiſtration they had conferred upon him, but was extreamly ſurpriſed to find none of all the Senators oppoſe his ſeeming Reſolution: and finding he was too far advanced to retreat, he reſumes the Government, and ſummons the Eſtates to meet at *Arboga*. The Senate made up a Party by themſelves, to which a great number of Lords aſſociate themſeves againſt the Duke. A great many people withdraw to them, inſomuch that very few came to the Aſſembly at *Arboga*. In this the Decrees of the Council at *Upſal* were confirmed, and all the Regulations made by the Eſtates at *Suderkoping*. The Duke is intreated not to abandon the Government, and is declared to have the only ſupreme Authority. On the other ſide, the Senators reject theſe new Decrees, and the Chancellor with ſome others leave *Sweden*.

1611. *King* Sigiſmond *attempts in vain to reduce the D. by force.*

Sigiſmond embracing ſo inviting an opportunity, marches ſuddenly towards *Sweden* with a conſiderable Army: Had he but made a little more haſte, he might have ſuppreſs'd the weakned Party of the Duke; but by his ſlowneſs he gave him opportunity to fortifie himſelf, to render himſelf Maſter of many important Places, and to ſecure the Fleet. When *Sigiſmond* was come to *Sweden*, the Elector of *Brandenburg* and ſome other *German* Princes, endeavour to reconcile the Nephew with the Uncle; but their Labour was to no purpoſe. The Duke proteſted, that he ſought nothing but the peace and preſervation of the Priviledges, and the Religion of the Realm. But *Sigiſmond* would not truſt to him, for he had already reſolved the ruin of an Uncle, who evidently appeared to aſpire to the Crown. Each Prince was at the head of his Army, and it appeared that the Fortune of one Battle would give the deciſive ſtroke to their difference. *Sigiſmond* ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſurpriſed at *Linkoping*, where part of his Troops were kill'd, and part drown'd. To preſerve the remainder he ſent to demand a Peace of his Uncle: The Duke conſented, on condition he would deliver up five Senators that were with him. He accus'd them for the chief Authors of theſe troubles, and pretended to cauſe them to be tried in the next convention of the Eſtates. The two Princes treat together. The Duke took a new Oath of Allegiance to the King; and *Sigiſmond* on his part engages to govern the Realm according to the Laws of the Land, and his Coronation Oath. He promiſed moreover to call together the Eſtates within four Months, to put an end to all differences, in preſence of the Commiſſioners, which the Emperor, their Allies, and the Electors ſhould be deſired to ſend thither. There were alſo other Articles for the mutual ſecurity of the two Princes, and diſmiſſing the Troops every where. Care alſo had been taken to add this, that if King *Sigiſmond* did not obſerve

the

the Treaty, the *Swedes* ſhould be free from their Allegiance. 1611.

After this the King and Duke ſee one another frequently, and their minds ſeem to be diſpoſed to Peace. The Duke appeared willing faithfully to perform the Agreement: But *Sigiſmond*, enraged that his Uncle had laid reſtrictions upon him, inſtead of going to *Stockholm*, as he had promiſed, returned ſecretly to *Poland*. As ſoon as he came to *Dantzick* he accuſed his Uncle in all the Courts of *Europe*, of Treaſon and Rebellion; maintaining that he was not obliged to ſtand to the Treaty of *Linkoping*. Nothing could ever have been more advantageous to his Uncle's deſigns, who knew very well how to improve the opportunity. The Eſtates of the Kingdom aſſembled at *Jenkoping*, ſummon the King to accompliſh his promiſe in the laſt Agreement to embrace the Proteſtant Religion, to come and make his reſidence in *Sweden*, or, if he lov'd rather to ſtay in *Poland*, to ſend his Son *Ladiſlaus* to be educated under the care of the Duke, his Uncle. The Eſtates moreover declared, that if the King ſhould refuſe theſe Conditions, he and his Children ſhould loſe all their Right to the Crown of *Sweden*, which they would confer upon another, capable to govern the Realm, according to the Laws of the Country. In the mean time, while *Sigiſmond* delay'd to diſcover his mind; the D. of *Sudermania* was deſired to take upon him the Adminiſtration of affairs, and to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion. Afterwards the Eſtates aſſembled at *Stockholm*, and declared themſelves Lawfully diſcharged from their Oath to *Sigiſmond*, becauſe he counter-acted his Grand-Father *Guſtavus*'s latter will, neglected the devoirs of a Prince, refus'd to obſerve the Treaty of *Linkoping*, and had no regard to all the Remonſtrances they made him. Then they offered the Crown to Prince *Ladiſlaus*, upon condition he would come to *Sweden* in a year, and be inſtructed in the Proteſtant Religion. In caſe the King and his

The Eſtates of Sweden *depoſe* Sigiſmond.

Son

1611. Son did not agree to ſuch reaſonable terms, they proteſted that *Sigiſmond* and his Poſterity, could never have any pretenſions to the Crown of *Sweden*.

Charles *Duke of* Sudermania *is choſen King of* Sweden.

This Juncture was extream favourable for the deſigns of *Charles*. *King Sigiſmond* had taken up a reſolution to aſſiſt the ſpurious *Demetrius* in *Muſcovy*, and thereupon was engaged in great heats with the Nobility of *Poland*. While theſe affairs took him up, he could not act but very weakly; and that upon ſome of the remoteſt Provinces of *Sweden*. Then the Duke being maſter of the affections of the People, and the beſt places of ſtrength, aſſembled the States at *Norkoping* in *March*, 1607. In order to make 'em believe that he had no hand in ſhaking the Fidelity of *Sigiſmond*'s Subjects, and that he did not entertain any thoughts of taking up his Nephew's place: he offered in the Convocation to reſign the Regency of the *Kingdom*. He offered likewiſe to make an Accommodation with *Sigiſmond*, or to prefer *John* the *King*'s Brother to the Throne. The States would not hear of *Sigiſmond*, nor his Son. *John* refus'd the Crown with a great deal of apparent Generoſity, either becauſe he was not Ambitious, but lov'd his eaſe; or elſe becauſe he knew his Uncle's miud, and that he only made a ſhew of offering the Crown to another, when he deſigned it for himſelf. *I'll content my ſelf*, ſaid he, *with my Dutchy of* Eaſt-Golia, *and ſhall always be true to him that is moſt capable to govern the Kingdom, in ſuch a perplex'd juncture.* After a great many refuſals, which were look'd upon as feigned, *Charles* accepted the Crown; it being ſetled upon him and his Male Children; ſo that *John* was only to ſucceed if they failed. The States of *Sweden* were convinced, that Queen *Catharine Jagellon* was the chief cauſe of all the troubles, that *King John* her Husband, and *Sigiſmond* her Son, had occaſioned upon the ſcore of Religion. Wherefore they made an Act, that their Kings ſhould marry none but Proteſtant

Wives

Wives. The new King wrote very plainly to *Sigiſmond*, and to the Republick of *Poland*, to notifie his Election to them, and to offer the renewing the of old Alliance between the two Crowns. The States of *Sweden* wrote ſeparately to the Council of *Poland*; to the ſame effect. Afterwards *Charles* was Crown'd at *Upſal*, together with *Chriſtin* his Queen; and was fond of the repriſals he had made of *Sigiſmond*'s contempt. 1161.

The King of *Poland* gave no anſwer to his Uncle's Letter. He look'd upon him as an Uſurper. Only the Council wrote to the States of *Sweden*, upbraiding them with their Pride, and Infidelity to *Sigiſmond*; proteſting that they would own none but him as lawful King of *Sweden*; and railing with long invectives againſt the Artfices, which, they alledg'd, *Charles* had made uſe of to Dethrone his Nephew. The States of *Sweden* anſwer'd this Letter in a Manifeſto, addreſt to the Council of *Poland*. In which they juſtified their treatment of *Sigiſmond*, and the Election of the new King. There were ſome Arguments in it, relating to the *Poles* themſelves, that they could not well anſwer. They had reference to *Sigiſmonds* ſecret and precipitant retreat, after the Treaty of *Lincoping*. *Had your King*, ſaid they, *done ſo much with you, ye would have dethron'd him long e're now. The Act ye formerly made againſt* Henry *of* France, *is a plauſible proof. He had gone, without your knowledge, to be inveſted on his Succeſſion to his Father and Brothers. After his departure, he wrote to you he would take care to govern, even as much as if he had continu'd in* Poland. *Now, did ye take any notice of this? did not ye proceed to a new Election? Did not you ſay, that* Poland *was never govern'd by Lieutenants? Now, we are in no worſe condition, than you.* Sweden *cannot be without a King.* As for the charge of calling a Convention of the States, without *Sigiſmond*'s leave. *'Tis a thing unconteſted among us*, ſaid they, *that the firſt Officers of a Kingdom may call together the States in the King's abſence. Upon ſome occaſions,*

1912. *caſions, you do the ſame. 'Tis not long ſince ye had a diet, without* Sigiſmond's *permiſſion. That was to maintain liberty! Very well. So will we maintain ours.*

The King of Sweden *challenges the King of* Denmark.

Before and after *Charles*'s preferment to the Crown, he made War in *Livonia*, againſt the *Poles*. Sometimes he had the better on't. At other times he ſuſtain'd conſiderable loſſes. But the *Poles* had ſo much to do at home, and upon the Borders of *Moſcovy*, that they could not purſue a conſiderable Victory that they obtain'd in *Livonia*. After ſome time *Chriſtian* the IV. King of *Denmark* declares War againſt the King of *Sweden*. 'Tis poſſible the Daniſh King flatter'd himſelf with an eaſie Conqueſt of *Sweden*, when weakned by her domeſtick diviſions, and diverted by the War in *Livonia*, and even in *Muſcovy* it ſelf, where *Charles* aſſiſted *Suski*, the Muſcovite Emperor, againſt the *Poles*. In the year 1611. *Chriſtian* wrote a long Letter to the States of *Sweden*, complaining of ſeveral injuries done by the *Swedes* to him and his Subjects. And, receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, declar'd War againſt 'em. Thoſe who love to quarrel with their Neighours are commonly readier to make Invaſions upon them, than they are to defend themſelves. *Chriſtian* enters *Sweden*; takes *Calmar*; attacks the Iſland of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, and gains them. In his return he found the King of *Sweden* encamp'd before him near *Calmar*.

'Twas then that *Charles* ſent the Challenge to *Chriſtian*, that made ſuch a noiſe in *Europe*. Having charg'd him with ſome heavy Crimes, he adds, *Since you are in your Armour, let's ſpare the Innocent Blood of our Subjects. Let's end our difference in a particular Duel, according to the laudable cuſtom of the ancient Greeks. I give you a Challenge. If ye reject it, I ſhall never look upon you, either as a Man, or a brave Soldier.* The King of *Denmark* made an anſwer much more affrontive than the Letter he had receiv'd. He averr'd that *Charles*'s imputations were only

only the *impudent Lies of a Man that lov'd rather to deal in invectives, than to fight at the head of his Army. As for the Challenge ye've ſent me,* ſays he, *'tis a proof that ye ſtand in need of Helebor to clear your Brains for you.* Would not this ſerve to juſtifie the old Greek Poet, whom the world arraigns for repreſenting Kings and Hero's, under the charrcter of thoſe who ſpeak mean and reviling language one to another. The truth is, Princes are e'en made like other Men. They oftentimes forget themſelves, and utter words unworthy of their Rank and Character. Here we have a plain inſtance of it. 1611.

'Tis thought, *Chriſtian* alluded to the Apoplexy, which his Enemy had been taken with ſome time before. The States had deny'd *Charles* a ſufficient Subſidy for carrying on the War which *Denmark* threatened him with. Whereupon he was ſo violently tranſported, that he fell down in an Appoplectick fit. And always after that accident, he found his body and ſpirits decaying. 'Tis probable his fretting upon the account of the King of *Denmark's* advantages over him, was the cauſe of its relapſe: He died on the 31 of the next *October*, in the 61 year of his Age. His Son *Guſtavus Adolphus* ſucceeded to him. He was then under age; but had already given proof of his ſingular Courage and Valour,

THE

BOOK III.

CHAP. XII.

HISTORY

OF THE

THE HISTORY

Of the Reign of

LEWIS XIII.

K. of *France* and *Navarre*.

BOOK. III.

AFter the death of *Henry* IV. The face of the Affairs of *Europe* was much altered. *Spain*, that but two years before trembled for fear of *France*, which then flouriſh'd both at home and abroad; begun inſenſibly to get the upper hand. 'Twas the ſaying of a great Man in thoſe days, that this ſudden revolution was occaſion'd by falſe Political Maxims, cunningly inſinuated into an unwary Queen, by the *Pope* and Great Duke of *Tuſcany*; or elſe by Spaniſh Piſtols diſtributed to the Courtiers of *France*. *Mary de* Me-

1612. *The State of* France *after the Regency of* Mary de Medicis.

1612. *Medicis* was prepoſſeſs'd with this fancy that the Alliance of a double Marriage between the two Crowns, was neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of her Authority againſt the Princes of the Blood, and thoſe who diſputed it. With this view, ſhe rais'd diviſions in the Court and Kingdom; She gave umbrage and jealouſie to the beſt Allies of the Crown; and ſupported the decaying power of her Son's greateſt Enemies. The ſtrength of *France*, conſiſted in an union with *England*, the *United Provinces*, the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. All theſe Sovereigns, being jealous of the overgrown power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had entr'd into a League with the late K. *Henry* being made Head of the League, and keeping up a fair underſtanding among his Allies, aw'd *Spain* to their Duty, and enabled himſelf to interpriſe any thing, when an occaſion offer'd. But as ſoon as the Allies perceiv'd that the Regent was about an Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*; they began to diſtruſt her; and to take other meaſures.

The *Venetians* were more reſerv'd. The Duke of *Savoy* took it ill that ſhe refus'd to perform *Henry*'s contracts; and in revenge indeavour'd to ſow Sedition in *France*; and reſolved to fall in with *Spain*, providing they would gratifie his Ambition in ſome points. While *France* neglected to keep up a good underſtanding between the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany* and elſewhere, they diſunited one from another; and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is always watchful in minding its intereſt, knew how to make advantage of their Diviſions. *James* I. of *England* might have ſupplied the room of *Henry* IV. and obliged the Regent to follow the Scheme left her by the late King. The Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of *England* it ſelf, requir'd that good Office of him. But the honeſt Prince never had an unfeign'd love, for either the one, or the other. The Court of *Rome* was very eaſie upon this new turn of Affairs. The Popes were always in the Spaniſh

Intereſt

Intereſt. The Kings of *Spain*, under the pretence of extirpating Hereſie, engag'd the Court of *Rome* on their ſide. The one had a mind to enlarge their Temporal Dominions; and the other was willing to truckle to thoſe that help'd 'em to re-eſtabliſh their Spiritual Monarchy. It ſeems the Court of *France* now has thought fit to make uſe of the old Spaniſh Politicks, for inſuring the Pope's favour: But are not they come to late? The Court of *Rome* will never obſerve a neutrality with *France*, unleſs neceſſity conſtrain 'em. The Principles of the *French* are too far oppoſite to the Pope's pretenſions, and the Avarice of his Creatures. 1612.

Under the Regency of *Mary*, the ſame Factions revived that had diſturbed *France*, in the time of *Catherine de Medicis*. *Mary* deſigning to maintain her Authority, lower'd the Princes of of the Blood, after her Couſin's example. The family of *Guiſe* being then allied to that of *Epernon*, ſhe made account to make uſe of their ſervice, inſtead of keeping in with the true friends of the Crown. She was entirely managed by the Counſels of the Pope and King of *Spain*, who could not aggrandiſe themſelves but at young *Lewis*'s coſt. The Princes of the Blood were aware of the bad conſequences; but by renouncing the Religion of their Fathers, they had loſt all their Intereſt; and wanted force to withſtand the Regent's deſigns. The well affected Proteſtants of *France* indeavour'd to prevent the ill that muſt needs accrue to the whole Proteſtant intereſt from a double Alliance with *Spain*. But what could they do? The Princes of the Blood were not now at their Head. The great Lords of the Proteſtant Communion, being divided after the Aſſembly at *Saumur*, more than ever, ſtudied only to ruine one another. I am now arriv'd at the tranſactions of the year 1612. Here we will ſee theſe three Parties, their Intrigues, and different Conditions. The Regent and her Confidents covering her ill deſigns with the King's name and Authority. The Princes of the Blood complaining of the bad Go-

1612. vernment, but either not heard, or else put to silence by false promises, and slight gratuities. The *Huguenot* party, perswaded that their Ruine is design'd in earnest; making loud complaints; bestiring themselves much without any relief; so weaken'd by their own Divisions, that they have not interest enough to procure a hearing to their just Remonstrances.

The double marriage Negotiated.

Cosme, great Duke of *Tuscany*, being more firmly united to the House of *Austria*, by his Marriage with *Magdalen* Archdutchess of *Gratz*; carried on the Negotiation of the double Marriage between *France* and *Spain*, which *Ferdinand* his Father had begun. In the late King's time, they had foysted in the proposal of a third Marriage to make the other two go down the better. *Don Carlos* second Son to *Philip* III. was propos'd for Madam *Christine*, the second Daughter of *France*. The King of *Spain* offer'd to give the Infanta the Soveraignty of the *Netherlands* after the death of the Archdutchess *Isabel*. *Henry* knew well enough that this was only a decoy, to tempt him to desert the United Provinces; and therefore rejected it as well as the former.

As soon as the news of his death arriv'd at *Madrid*, the Great Duke's Ambassador reviv'd the Negotiation of the double Marriage. He knew that his Master would be more earnest in the matter, in order to serve *Mary de Medicis*, who always wish'd for it. The Duke of *Lorain*, and other Spanish Ministers, were very content that the Negotiation should be set on foot again. But considering that *France* did not seem so formidable as before, they alter'd their propolals. They thought fit to drop the propolals of the third Marriage of *Don Carlos* with *Christine*. Besides, they gave it out, that *Philip* had some thought of reducing the United Provinces, after the expiring or breaking of the Truce. The Counsel of *Spain* considering that the eldest Daughter of *France* has no right of Succession to the Crown; made use of that as a pretence for scrupling to give the

eldest

eldeſt Infanta of *Spain* to the King of *France*. They would offer no more, but the ſecond Daughter. *Mary de Medicis* would have agreed to that, providing *Philip* would likewiſe take the ſecond Daughter of *France*. This project made way for ſatisfying the D. of *Savoy*, who earneſtly ſolicited for the accompliſhment of the late King's promiſe, in marrying the eldeſt Daughter of *France* to the Prince of *Piemont*. But *Spain* had no mind that *Charles Emmanuel* ſhould be too nearly Allied to *France*. All theſe different thoughts and projects render'd the new Negotiation difficult enough. 1611.

Spain was ſo eager upon thwarting the Duke's deſigns, that they choſe rather to give the eldeſt Infanta to the King of *France*, than to ſuffer the Prince of *Piemont* to marry the eldeſt Daughter of *France*. Towards the end of the year 1610. 'twas agreed upon, that *Lewis* and Prince *Philip*, ſhould each of 'em marry the Eldeſt Daughters of the two Houſes, reciprocally, upon theſe terms, that *Anne* the Infanta, deſigned for the King of *France*, ſhould renounce all the pretenſions that ſhe or her Children could ever have to the Monarchy of *Spain*. This expedient was found out to make the terms on both ſides equal. The D. of *Tuſcany* was Commiſſioned to demand the two Princeſſes, for the two Kings. Thus *Mary de Medicis* obtained what ſhe had long wiſh'd for. But ſhe did not know how to make the double marriage go down with the People of *France*. *Villeroi* negotiated the Treaty. That Miniſter was always ſuſpected to be a Penſioner of *Spain*, and formed all the Intrigues he was Maſter of, to carry on their deſigns. *Sulli*, before he was diſgraced, oppoſed it vigorouſly. One day, in the Regent's preſence, he ſaid to *Villeroi*, *I ſhall be able to hinder your influencing her Majeſty, to follow the fancies of the Pope and King of* Spain. *The friendſhip of the Proteſtant Sovereigns, is more uſeful to the State, than that of* Paul *and* Philip. The Queen heard him, but ſaid nothing. But theſe bold words, which were ſo worthy of a

1612. true *Frenchman*, contributed much to promote the Duke's disgrace. If *Sulli* were outed of his Ministry, they hop'd the project of the double Marriage would take the better. The Marshal of *Boüillon*, they thought, was not so unflexible, and seemed to be a proper Minister, for recommending the Regents design to the Protestants, both at home and abroad.

The double Marriage is concluded between the two Kings.

About the end of *April* all was agreed on. The Treaty of the double marriage was signed, and the two Kings interchangeably promise by writing to perform it: The Pope and Great Duke of *Tuscany* being Mediators. The Treaty of the particular Marriage between the King of *France* and the Infanta, was to be prepared and published at *Paris*: and that of the Prince of *Spain* and Madam *Elizabeth* at *Madrid*. A defensive League was also concluded between the two Crowns. *Lewis* and *Philip* agree to send certain mutual assistances, in case either of 'em were attack'd, either by foreign Enemies, or an intestine Rebellion. The *Spaniards* had desired that the League should be offensive, which the Queen Regent would not agree to: This was enough to convince her that the design of *Philip* was to destroy the Amity and Confidence which the Protestant Princes and States had for *France*. *Mary* being contented to stipulate, that the two Treaties should yet for some time remain secret, had not the prudence to break a Negotiation, whereby the Enemies of young *Lewis* laid snares for him, on all sides. The approach of the Assembly of the Reformed at *Saumur*, was the Cause that the Queen demanded a delay; it was feared least the News should too much alarm them, and put them upon measures to oppose a design so pernicious to the common quiet and security of all the Protestants.

Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 2. pag. 524. 525, 526, &c.

The Intrigues that were form'd in the Court of France on the discovery of the Treaty of the double Marriage.

The Queen and her Confidents used all their address to gain the Princes of the Blood, and chief Lords, that the business of the double Marriage might go on without stop. The Union between the Prince of *Conde* and the Count of

Soif-

Soiſſons being the greateſt impediment they had to remove, Intrigues are formed to break it. But perceiving that they were very reſolute both the one and the other; they try to gain them ſeparately, by promiſing them ſome new gratifications. They had both withdrawn from the Court, as diſpleaſed that a Treaty had been made with *Spain*, without their knowledge; altho' the Cardinal of *Joieuſe* and Duke of *Eſpernon* were adviſed thereof by Expreſſes diſpatch'd for that purpoſe. The Count of *Soiſſons* had deſigned to cauſe the Miniſters of State to be removed, and eſpecially the Chancellor *Sillery*, whom he hated above the reſt. Him the Count accuſed of a diſgraceful and inſatiable Avarice, and of publickly ſelling Juſtice, to the diſhonour of the Government, and the prejudice of private perſons who had buſineſs before him. Tho the Count was extreamly vexed at *Concbini*, ſince the breaking off the Marriage propoſed between the Son of the one, and the Daughter of the other; yet he had ſome regard for him, they being of one opinion touching the removing of the Miniſters of State. This new Favourite believed, that while they kept their places, they would ſtill be obſtacles to the increaſe of his intereſt. After diſpatching ſome buſineſs, the two Princes return to Court. 1617.

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

The Conſtable *Montmorency* was decoyed by a Marriage between his Son and a Princeſs of the Houſe of *Mantua*, Niece to the Queen. The Marſhal *Bouillon* had indeed ſeveral times in Council ſaid, that a very cloſe Union with *Spain* would be hurtful to the State: but at the bottom he had made his market. *Leſdiguieres* died with impatience to become a Duke and Peer in all forms: he was made believe that the Parliament would confirm the Patent he had obtained for that dignity; and this made him comply with the deſires of the Court. The Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom the Queen had recourſe in the trouble ſhe had from the reſiſtance of the Princes of the Blood, aſſur'd her of the ſervice of thoſe of his Houſe, and of all his Friends. *I have but one favour to deſire, Madam*, ſays he to the Queen; *which is, that after*

Siri Hiſtoret Mem. vol. 2. p. 599, 600, 601, 607, 612.

1612. *this important ſervice, your Majeſty would not, as formerly, abandon us to the reſentment of the Princes of the Blood.*

The Duke of *Eſpernon* was ſtill very neceſſary to the Queen on this occaſion; he had departed from the Court much diſſatisfied; but was gently uſed during his abſence. Upon his return he received all imaginable Careſſes. The Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the houſe of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and all the Courtiers, except the Creatures of the Prince of *Conde* and Count *Soiſſons*, pay'd him extraordinary reſpect. The Chancellour *Villeroi*, and *Conchini*, render'd him all the honour and deference he could wiſh. This was judged the fitteſt way to engage this proud and haughty Man, in an Emulation with the Princes of the Blood, and to oppoſe vigorouſly the attempts they might make to break the Treaty of the double Marriage. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador openly complained of that Alliance: But it was hoped his Maſter might be appeaſed by ſending the Marſhal *Bouillon*. *Aerſens* Ambaſſador for the United Provinces made a great Clamour, and left no ſtone unturned to prevent a thing, the conſequence whereof appeared ſo pernicious to the Republick. *Refuge* was ſent to the *Hague* to remove the fears of Prince *Maurice* and the States General: And, in fine, *Schomberg* was ſent to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* to diſpel the jealouſies they might have entertained on the News of this Affair.

The double Marriage at length paſſes in the Council of France.

The Prince of *Conde* and Count of *Soiſſons* had returned to Court about the beginning of the year 1612. and ſerious endeavours had been made to diſpoſe them to conſent to the double Marriage. But the two Princes had not yet received ſatisfaction. That day they were called to Council, *Conde* demanded that each ſhould give his Judgment in his turn. *Silleri* the Chancellour gave a great Encomium to the prudent Government of the Queen, and explained the great Advantages that would accrue to the State by the double Marriage.

Siri's *ſecret Mem.* vol. 2. p. 618, 619.

riage. The Duke of *Guiſe* diſplay'd an Eloquence which is natural to thoſe of his Houſe. *There is no place*, ſaid he, *for deliberation on a propoſal ſo advantageous; our part is only to return thanks to God that her Majeſty has ſo happily executed the noble deſign with which Heaven had inſpired her.* *Montmorency* the Conſtable, and the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Eſpernon*, gave their conſent. The Marſhals *Bouillon* and *Leſdiguieres* only added, that it was expedient to beware, leſt this new Treaty with *Spain*, might prove prejudicial to the ancient Alliances of the Crown with other Sovereigns. 1612.

The Prince of *Conde*'s turn to ſpeak came at length; but he had been ſo ſurpriſed at the deciſion of the Duke of *Guiſe*, that he was quite put out of order, and coldly ſaid, *Since the buſineſs is concluded, it is not neceſſary to give our advice.* 'Tis believed that the two Princes came with deſign to oppoſe the Treaty; as appeared by ſome words that ſlip'd from the Count of *Soiſſons*. *You ſee*, Sir, ſaid he, turning to the Prince of *Conde*, *that we are treated here as Servants.* The Queen being ſenſibly touch'd with the reproach, was going to ſpeak, when the Chancellor nimbly prevented her, by propoſing ſome other thing. Thus it was agreed, that the double Marriage ſhould be publiſhed the 25th. day of *March* enſuing; and the new Duke of *Mayenne* nominated to be ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*, to demand the Infanta, with the uſual Ceremonies. The Prince of *Conde* and Count of *Soiſſons* ſhewed great weakneſs on this Occaſion: their Conſcience would not allow them to approve the thing; but fear or hope hindered them from ſpeaking as they ought. *Sir*, ſaid the Conſtable on this account to his Son-in-Law the Prince of *Conde*, *You neither know how to fight with Courage, or yield with Prudence.*

1612. The Queen Regent found her ſelf involved in another trouble, by reaſon of a ſentence the Parliament had paſſed upon the difference of the Univerſity of *Paris* with the Jeſuits about opening their Colledge of *Clermont*. The good Fathers flattered themſelves that the chief Preſident *Verdun* would prove as favourable to them as his Predeceſſors had been unfavourable: but they were deceived. Whether it was that he would appear zealous for the principles of the *Gallican* Church, or that the reaſons of Doctor *Richard*, Sindic of the Faculty of *Paris*, and the diſcourſe of the Sollicitor General *Servin*, had convinced him that if once the Society got footing in the Faculty of *Paris*, they would eſtabliſh therein their pernicious Tenets; or that, in fine, at the bottom of his heart, he car'd no more for the Jeſuits than other Magiſtrates. He put on ſo pleaſant and contented a Countenance, before he gave out the Decree, that the good Fathers believed they had gained the Proceſs. But great was their mortification, when they underſtood that they were order'd without delay to ſubſcribe, *That they would conform themſelves to the Doctrine of the Colledge of* Sorbon, *in what concerns the ſafty of the ſacred perſon of the King, the defence of their Royal Authority, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church*, according to what was contained in the four Articles that had been propoſed to them, and were read when the ſentence was pronounced. The Society was reduced to a ſtrange Extremity: they muſt either ſubſcribe to a Doctrine abhorr'd by the Court of *Rome*, or poſſibly be a ſecond time baniſh'd the Kingdom. The Paſtors of *Paris* had before this engag'd themſelves jointly to Addreſs the Parliament, that the Jeſuits might be diſcharged the Confeſſion Chair. The Univerſity alſo petition'd that they might be commanded to ſhut up their Schools in all the Cities under the Juriſdiction of the Parliament of *Paris*, unleſs the Patents granted them by the late Ting had been recorded in Parliament. The good Fathers

The Pope's Nuncio complains of the Decree of Parliament upon the Proceſs of the Univerſity of Paris *againſt the Jeſuits.*

Siri's *ſecret Mem.* vol. 2. p. 624, 625, &c.

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had no other remedy left them but the Interceſ- 1612.
ſion of the Pope's Nuncio, and the good Offices of the Cardinals and Prelates devoted to the Court of *Rome*.

Ubaldini the Pope's Nuncio made no difficulty in beſtirring himſelf on their behalf. He was as much in an alarm, as the Jeſuits. The firſt Preſident boaſted, that the Faculty of *Paris* ſhould ſolemnly receive the four Articles propoſed to the good Fathers, and all that the Advocate General had advanced. The Nuncio, in the firſt Audience he had of the Regent, made heavy complaints againſt the new Decree, and againſt *Servin*. He concluded his diſcourſe with an earneſt requeſt to her Majeſty, that ſhe would ſpeedily prevent the harm that would accrue to Religion from the Parliaments Proceedings: *Mary de Medicis* gave the Nuncio good words, 'Twas not enough that he wheedled an ignorant Woman, one that was ſuperſtitious to the laſt degree, and depended wholly upon the Pope. His buſineſs was beſides, to gain the Miniſters of State, and the leading Men in the Parliament: Without them the Regent could do nothing in that Affair. Accordingly he firſt ſends his Secretary to the Miniſters Houſes; there he made a great deal of noiſe. 'Is it ſo then, *ſaid the Italian*, that the Advocates 'General think they have a right to propoſe que- 'ſtions to the Parliament, concerning the Admi- 'niſtration of the Sacraments. Do they pretend 'to be ſovereign Judges in that point? If their 'Act obliged only the Jeſuits to follow the Do- 'ctrine receiv'd by the whole Church, or at leaſt 'that which the Prelates of the Gallican Church 'profeſs to believe; the caſe would be more ſuf- 'ferable. But for the Parliament to oblige them 'to ſubſcribe to what ſo ſmall a body, as that of 'the *Sorbonne*,' teaches: The Pope cannot diſpenſe 'with the condemnation of ſuch an unaccountable 'procedure. The Secretary continued to urge in the Nuncio's name, that the King's Privy Council ſhould paſs an Act for diſanulling the Act of Parliament,

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The Nuncio's Invectives againſt Servin.

The Nuncio himſelf told them, that if the *Sorbonne* continued to make a Schiſm in the Church by adopting a Doctrine, ſo contrary to that of all other Univerſities; 'The Pope would at laſt 'be obliged to preſs for a Convocation of a Na-'tional Council in *France*, in order to the Con-'demnation of the unadvis'd, falſe and erroneous 'Doctrine of the Sorbonne. In the mean time 'his Holineſs will proceed to iſſue forth Eccle-'ſiaſtical cenſures againſt the Doctors that ſhall 'ſubſcribe to the Articles, propos'd by the Par-'liament to the Jeſuits. As for Mr. *Servin*, *con-'tinued that* Italian *Miniſter*, 'tis well known that 'he's a downright *Huguenot*, one of the King of '*England*'s penſioners. He ought to be outted 'of his place, or at leaſt, prohibited for ever here-'after to ſpeak of what relates to Religion, to 'the Pope, to the Court of *Rome*, and the im-'munities of the Church. He poyſons the Youth 'of the *Palais* with his wicked ſentiments; he 'means to ſerve the Proteſtant Intereſt in break-'ing the good underſtanding between the Court 'of *France* and the Holy See, and in ſowing jea-'louſie and diſtruſt between the Pope and his 'moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. He urg'd at length that he ſhould be Excommunicated. 'If reſpect of Per-'ſons awes the Biſhops, *continues he*, the Pope 'himſelf will proceed againſt a Man who makes 'it his buſineſs to mint new Articles of Faith, 'and faſten Hereſie upon the Doctrines received 'and taught by the Catholick Church. Durſt *Paul* V. have offered to Excommunicate the high-eſt Magiſtrates in *France*, for promoting the In-tereſt of the King and State? Would to God that haughty Pope had done it. The World would have ſeen how the Gallican Church would have defended that great Article of their Liber-ties, that a Magiſtrate could not be Excommu-nicated for any thing relating to the exerciſe of his Office. I doubt, *Paul* V. would not have come

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off in that matter, as he did in his thundering Suſpenſion againſt the Republick of *Venice*. 1612.

The Nuncio clamor'd moſt againſt the Article relating to attempts againſt the King's Perſon, and the State. He charg'd it with nothing leſs than Impiety and Sacriledge. *That Doctrine*, ſaid he, *is contrary to the ſafety of Princes Perſons.* That's ſtrange. For in effect, the Parliament thought they did the K. a conſiderable piece of ſervice, in enacting that a Confeſſor is oblig'd to reveal all the deſigns he hears of, againſt the Perſon of the Prince and State. But you'll ſee how the Popes Miniſter turns it. *If that Doctrine be receiv'd*, ſays he, *thoſe who are concern'd in ſuch helliſh deſigns, will never confeſs. By this means the Prieſt will have no opportunity of diſſwading the Penitent from the execution of ſuch an enterpriſe. When ſuch things are confeſs'd to the Prieſt, we allow 'em to acquaint the Prince or the Magiſtrate in general terms, without naming or pointing at particular perſons. Now to diſcourage the people from confeſſing their deſigned Crimes, is to remove from the Confeſſors the means of doing that good ſervice to the Publick.* But his diſcourſe upon the Article of the Pope's Supremacy above a Council, was yet worſe natur'd, and more apt to fright the Regent. *The ſame Arguments*, cry'd he, *that the* Sorbonne *makes uſe of to make good their poſition, will likewiſe prove that the States of the Kingdom are above the King. The* Huguenots, *or at leaſt the Seditious Catholicks may yet appeal to a future Council, about the ſentence of divorce, which* Clement VIII. *pronounced between the late King and Queen* Margaret. *According to theſe Principles the birth-right of the King is not certain; and they are in the right on't in making proviſion to oppoſe the Queen's Regency. That's what Servin wants. He's a declar'd enemy to the Queen and the Council.*

When *Mary de Medicis* and her Miniſters heard the Nuncio make that heavy ſtir, they reſolved to appeaſe him. But the great Lords and Miniſters could not agree upon an expedient.

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1612. The Lords were of opinion that the Regent should suspend the execution of the Act of Parliament, call in the affair before the Council, and reprove the Advocate General, so that he shall not offer to give the Queen so much trouble hereafter. The Ministers of State were of another mind. They were afraid such high proceedings might offend the Parliament. 'Tis prudential to be more cautious during a Minority, than at any other time. Upon which account 'twas concluded upon, as being more convenient, that the *Sorbonne* should be gently hinder'd to give their explication of the four Articles; and the Parliament should be engaged to modifie their own Decree; and receive no new petitions against the Jesuits, *Conchini* was order'd to give 'em to know that her Majesty desir'd the Decree should be mollified. *Silleri* and *Villeroy* imploy'd their interest with the Magistrates to the same effect.

The Nuncio's carriage to the Parliament, in Suing for a modification of the decree.

This resolution did not please the Nuncio. He was sent back to the Parliament, to negotiate with them such a modification of the Act, as would please the Pope. Now these Gentlemen are commonly more stiff, and have less ceremony for the Court of *Rome*, than the Ministers of State. However *Ubaldini's* Secretary goes to the Country to meet with President *Verdun*. His Master had enjoin'd him to discourse the President with a great deal of Address and Civility. The Secretary begins with great commendations of the Presidents zeal for the good of the Church; his devotedness to the Holy See, his affection to the Queen, and in fine his inclination to favour the Jesuits. After a great many *Italian* Compliments, out comes the complaint against the Decree of Parliament, and against *Servins's* pleadings, and at last, an earnest request to the Magistrate, that he would justifie the good opinion they had of him, and confirm it by getting the Decree modifi'd. *Verdun* made his excuse, by telling him that, what the Parliament order'd by a Plurality of voices, was not at his command. He told him *Servin* did not speak of his Holyness,

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in any diſreſpectful terms. He promis'd they would receive no freſh petitions againſt the Jeſuits; and that they would think upon ſome meaſures to paciſie the matter. As for the modification of the Decree, he told him, if the four Articles were not expreſly ſet forth in it, the world would not believe that the Nuncio had any reaſon to complain. *However*, adds he, *we ſhall ſee what can be done for his ſatisfaction.* The Secretary urg'd that the Decree would ſtill expoſe the Jeſuits, becauſe it ſuppoſes that their Society teaches a Doctrine contrary to the ſafety of the lives of Princes. *How ſhould the good Fathers*, continued he, *promiſe with a ſafe Conſcience to be conformable to the Doctrine of the* Sorbonne, *concerning the liberties of the Gallican Church? Thoſe words include all that the Advocate General ſaid againſt the authority of the Pope, and Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.* 1612.

The Secretary diſplayed all his Eloquence in vain: The firſt Preſident continued ſtedfaſt in his opinion, that nothing relating to the liberties of the Gallican Church, ſhould be taken out of the Decree. The Chancellor and *Villeroy* preſs'd *Verdun* in the Regents name to comply. His brave anſwer was this. *Her Majeſty would do better to aboliſh the Parliament, than oblige them to alter their Decrees, in complaiſance to a foreign Miniſter*: All that he would yield to, was that the four Articles ſhould not be expreſly ſet forth in the Decree; and that where they ſpeak of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, they ſhould add theſe words: *which have been kept up and obſerved in all times in this Kingdom.* 'Twas likewiſe promis'd that the Jeſuits ſhould not be oblig'd to ſign againſt their wills. The Regent confirm'd all to the Nuncio, and cry'd out ſadly againſt poor *Servin*; I'll warrant ye, ſays ſhe, he ſhall not eſcape. We'll know how to make him wiſe hereafter. *The Parliament's decree modified.*

Ubaldini

1612. *Ubaldini* was carrying on intrigues with the Clergy, in order to ſtir up the Biſhops. *Perron* and *Gonzague* cry'd out every where upon the Advocate General, as an Heretick. *Marquemont* Archbiſhop of *Lions* was likewiſe acting his part in employing all the intereſt with the Miniſters and Prelates. One day, when *Servin* was in the Queen's Cloſet with *Gonzague* and *Perron*; the latter had the impudence to tell the Advocate General he was a Blockhead. The Cardinal was become very haughty, by vertue of the applauſes and acclamations that his facility of ſpeaking and writing had procur'd to him from the multitude; which is ſooner dazzled by the falſe ſparklings of a lively and agreeable fancy, than convinc'd by the ſolidity of reaſon, which few people are capable to diſcern. What we know of *Servin* and *Perron*, is ſufficient proof that the Advocate General was as knowing a Man as the Cardinal. At leaſt, the Magiſtrate had more integrity and uprightneſs of mind. The witty Cardinal durſt not enter the Liſts with *Servin* upon the Pope's Authority, or the liberties of the Gallican Church. He could have had no advantage of him upon theſe Points. But he falls upon him upon the Article of the Seal of Confeſſion. And the Cardinal being a great Spokeſman, and Sophiſt, did ſo perplex the queſtion, in order to catch *Servin* in ſome heretical expreſſion, that *Servin* being ſcarce Maſter of himſelf, denied that he had ſpoke what the Cardinal charg'd him with.

The Nuncio's Intrigues with the Clergy.

Cardinal *Gonzague* was not ſatisfied with giving in to the Regent a Memorial againſt *Servin*, but would needs attack him in the Queen's preſence. He call'd him a Heretick, an Enemy to the King, the Regent and the State. The Advocate General replied, without any commotion, that his Office oblig'd him to take a watchful care of all that concern'd his Maſter's Intereſt, or the Kingdom's good. *I know, Sir*, continued he, *That ye have the honour to belong to her Majeſty. The quality of the Queen's Nephew inſpires me with a reſpect for you, but I*

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am accountable to none but her Majesty. *Gonzague* replied, that the best service he could do to the King, was, never to depart from the Catholick Faith, and not to engage *France* in quarrels with the Holy See; and that 'twas impossible to be at once a good Servant to the King, and an enemy to the Pope. *Servin* was incens'd at the boldness of the Cardinal, that liv'd a scandalous life in *Paris*, and says to him; *before ye prescribe lessons, Sir, ye ought to think of giving us a good example.* The Queen presently interrupted the Advocate General; and order'd him to be gone, and to give the Cardinal satisfaction. *I demand none,* said the Cardinal. *This man is not capable to offend me.* A poor evasion for a great Lord, whom the truth of the imputation had nettled so much! 1612.

The Prelates who were then at *Paris*, animated by the Archbishop of *Lions*, joyn'd also in the outcry against the Parliaments Decree, and the Advocate General. They blam'd the Bishops of *Beauvois* and *Noion* very much, because they assisted at the giving of the sentence, as Ecclesiacal Peers; whereas they should have gone out and left the Audience, after they heard *Servin* speak against the Authority of the Holy See, and the immunities of the Church. Some were for condemning what the Advocate had said of Confession, as being Heretical. But that did not satisfie the Nuncio. To confine their Censure to that one Article, was a tacit approbation of the others concerning the Superiority of Councils above Pope's, and the liberties of the Gallican Church. The Bishops were not agreed among themselves, about the Article of Confession. Besides, they thought, that in a particular Convocation they had not sufficient authority to give sentence upon a question of that importance; and they wanted courage to go about it. *Ubaldini* succeeded better in the *Sorbonne*: there he form'd a numerous party, to hinder the faculty's declaring their opinion concerning these Articles. Doctor *Duval*, at the Head of his Party, promis'd, in

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1612. caſe the Parliament urg'd for it, to anſwer, that the Faculty could do nothing without the Biſhops, nor without an expreſs order from the Regent; becauſe the Articles in diſpute, did not only relate to Religion, but even to the affairs of Sate.

The Jeſuits perplexity between the Court of Rome and the Parliament of Paris.

In the mean time, the good Fathers the Jeſuits were in a ſad quandary. They wanted ſadly to have the College of *Clermont* open'd. In order to get leave to open it, 'twas neceſſary to follow the advice of Preſident *Signier* their good friend, and of ſome others, who counſel'd 'em to give the Parliament ſatisfaction in promiſing to ſtand to the Doctrine commonly receiv'd in the Univerſity of *Paris*. But this would expoſe 'em to the indignation of the Holy Father, and the Court of *Rome*. Cardinal *Perron*, the Biſhop of *Paris*, and ſeveral other Prelates adviſ'd to the contrary. And *Ubaldini* himſelf conjur'd em not to do it, for he was convinc'd the honor of the Holy See was intereſt'd in the affair. After long conſultations; The Provincial accompanied by five other Jeſuits, goes to the Clerks Office, without advertiſing the Nuncio or Cardinals, to make ſuch another declaration in writing, as their Provincial had made by word of mouth before the Parliament. The good Fathers thought, if the matter were once over, they would manage their game well enough at the Court of *Rome*; and would be abſolved after a few reprimands from the Nuncio and their General, who at the ſame time would not lay the matter much to heart.

As ſoon as the Nuncio heard what the Jeſuits had done; he fell into a violent Paſſion. Father *Coton* was order'd to go and pacifie him. The ſmooth tongu'd Jeſuit was fain to repreſent to him that the Provincial did not think he did amiſs in ſigning what he had before ſpoke by word of mouth; that the Rules of the Society oblig'd 'em to be conformable to the ſentiments of the Unverſities where their Colleges are; that their good friends adviſ'd em to prevent the trouble which the Parliament would certainly put 'em to, if they ſtifly refus'd

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to obey their Decree; and inſine, that they be- 1612.
lieved the Pope had ſome particular reaſons for not granting them an expreſs permiſſion, to ſubmit to the Law impos'd by the Parliament, without acquainting the Court of *Rome*. Theſe reaſons did not ſatisfie the Nuncio. *What! is it your part*, ſays he, *to Divine, what the Holy Father's intentions are? Ye ſhould have conſulted his Miniſter, who knows his mind better than any body elſe. Since ye ought to be conformable to the ſentiments of the Univerſities, why did not ye wait till the* Sorbonne *gave a clear explication of their belief? Inſtead of conſulting your Preſident* Segnier *and the Lawyers, it had been more proper to have followed my advice, and that of the well affected Prelates, and to have waited for the orders of your General.* *Coton* had nothing to reply. But the buſineſs was over. The Nuncio could not complain to the Regent of the violent proceedings of the Parliament againſt the Jeſuits. She would have anſwered that the good Fathers went of their own accord, without any new ſummons, to promiſe to conform themſelves to the Sentiments of the Univerſity, and the Intentions of the Parliament. Equivocations, Reſerves, and Mental reſtrictions are always the great refuge of this Society. Upon this occaſion, the Jeſuits of *Paris* made wonderful uſe of ſuch Evaſions, in the Letters they wrote to the Pope and Cardinal *Borgheſe* his Nephew in their own juſtification. One cannot forbear laughing, when they ſee *Coton* coldly writing to the Pope, that by the liberties of the Gallican Church, was meant the *concordat* made between *Leo* X. and King *Francis* I.

Ubaldini made a great deal of ſtir among the Clergy and the *Sorbonne*, to diſgrace *Richer* Doctor and Syndic of the Faculty of *Paris*. In the beginning of this year, there were two little books publiſh'd, one of which prov'd very troubleſome to its Author, tho he did not prefix his name. The firſt was only a Collection of the Decrees of the Faculty of *Paris*, upon the Pope's Authority.

1612. The design was to bring 'em in as proof that the ancient Doctrine of the *Sorbonne*, was, that Jesus Christ instituted an *Aristocratical* Government in his Church. And for as much as the Court of *Rome* brands all those as *Huguenots*, who oppose her usurpations, the Author of the Collection prevented the imputation, by adding to the Collection, the Decrees of the *Sorbonne* against *Luther* and *du Plessis Mornay*. The second Book unfolded the Hypothesis of the Aristocratical Government of the Church. 'Twas entituled *De la Puissance Ecclesiastique & Politique*.

The Author alledges that the Spiritual Jurisdiction properly belongs to the Church; and that the Pope and Bishops are only Instruments and Ministers imploy'd in the execution of the same: That Jesus Christ is the *Essential* head of the Church, the Pope being only the *Ministerial* head; that the Authority of the Pope of *Rome* extends only to particular Churches, where the Decrees and Canons of General Councils are to be observ'd; that the Church cannot be govern'd by an absolute Monarch, but by Canons; that Infallibility belongs to the whole Church, that is, to the Body of the highest Pastors, every private Bishop, and the Pope himself being liable to errors; that the frequent Convocation of General Councils is necessary; that the Pope's Decrees oblige only so far as they are conformable to the Canons; and lastly, that the Pope cannot oblige the Church to any thing against her will.

As for Political Power, the Author maintain'd that Jesus Christ gave the Church no temporal Jurisdiction, and that she has no right to the Sword or Constraint; that Censures and Excommunications are the Spiritual Arms of the Church, which at other times were not to be made use of without the advice of the Presbyteries; that the Soveraign of a Country is the Defender and Protector of the Natural, Divine and Canonical Laws; and in that quality has a right to make Laws, and to use the Sword in executing the orders

ders of God and the Councils; that the Chri- 1612.
ſtian Emperors did rightfully convocate the firſt General Councils; that appeals to the King are lawful, and he ought to receive 'em as being Protector of the Canons; that the Church has an indirect power over tempórl affairs, by way of perſuaſion and Excommunication, but not by way of Conſtraint or dethroning of Sovereigns; that the decretals of Popes excommunicating Sovereigns for not exterminating Hereticks, have not more authority, than the *Etravagante* of *Boniface* VIII. or other conſtitutions of haughty and pragmatical Popes; that the examples of Emperors and Princes excommunicated, and depos'd by Popes, cannot make any proof of a lawful right ſo to do. The whole work concluded with ſubmitting all theſe propoſitions to the Judgment of the Church.

Edmund Richer had compil'd it upon the deſire of Preſident *Verdun*. He put it to the preſs after the ſentence paſs'd between the Univerſity of *Paris* and the Jeſuits. As ſoon as the Book was publiſh'd, *Duval* and ſeveral other Doctors of the Pope's Faction, made a horrible noiſe. They preſently form a ſtrong and a numerous cabal for cenſuring the Book in the *Sorbonne*. *Ubaldini*'s Auditor, and *Forgemont* a Doctor of *Paris* went from door to door to ſolicit for a Cenſure. When the Parliament got notice of the matter, they ſent for *Richer* and *Forgemont*. The firſt was reprov'd for publiſhing the Book without permiſſion or previous review according to the Statutes. The other Doctor was mightily blam'd for joyning with a foreigner, to procure, by ſuch extraordinary methods, an Aſſembly of the Faculty of *Paris*, to deliberate about a Book, wherein many important queſtions relating to the rights and liberties of the Gallican Church were treated. The Parliament likewiſe paſt an Act, forbiding the Faculty to proceed to the Examination of *Richer*'s Book, and ordering all the Copies of it to be brought to the Clerks Office.

1612. The wiſer and more learned part of the Doctors ſided with *Richer*. But *Duval* and ſome bigots publiſhed bitter books againſt him. Their outrage was ſo great and furious that they threatened him with nothing leſs than tranſporting him to *Rome*, and puting him to the Inquiſition, to be ſentenced to be burnt. The greateſt and moſt dangerous enemy that *Richer* had, was Cardinal *Perron*. He was egg'd on by Cardinal *Gonzague*, and *Ubaldini*; and was ſo malicious as to ſay in the Regents Council, that *Richer* had been once deeply engag'd in the League; that he only ſet the Councils above the Popes, becauſe he fanci'd the States General were above the King; and in fine, that he had a deſign to ſtrike at the Birth and Condition of the King, and the Children of *Henry* IV. and at the validity of the Marriage of the late King to the Queen their Mother. *Richer* deſir'd leave to clear himſelf from the Cardinal's calumnies. But the Nuncio made ſuch a heavy noiſe, that they would not grant him his juſt requeſt. *Ubaldini* threatned to depart the City immediately, without taking leave of the King. Cardinal *Bonzi* told *Richer* one day, in Chancellor *Silleri*'s name, that they would take him up, if he offered to anſwer any of his Adverſaries libels, *What*! ſays *Bonzi*, *The King and the Queen his Mother keep fair with the little Republick of* Geneva; *and why not with the Pope? He has another ſort of power than the Seignory of* Geneva. *Beſides the extent of his ſpiritual Dominion all over the world: he is the temporal Soveraign of ſeveral Provinces in* Italy. Thus great Men think their dignity gives them a right to treat Authors with the moſt extravagant anſwers.

Cardinal Perron *and the Biſhop of* Sens *condemn* Richer's *Book.*

When *Richer*'s Enemies ſaw they could do nothing in the *Sorbonne*, by reaſon of the Parliaments interpoſal; they look'd out for other means of diſgracing him. Cardinal *Perron* was to hold at *Paris* a Convocation of the Biſhops of the Province of *Sens*, where he was Metropolitan; in order to ſend Deputies to the General Convocati-

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on of the Clergy, appointed to meet in *May*, and to nominate an Agent for the Clergy. They took occaſion to preſent his Book to that ſort of Provincial Council. The Preſident did not fail to get it condemned, as *containing ſeveral falſe, erroneous, ſchiſmatical and heretical Propoſitions; without infringing*, added they, *the Rights of the King or Crown of France; or the Rights, Immunities and Priviledges of the Gallican Church.* There never was a more irregular Cenſure than this. The Prelates had no power to meet upon any thing, but ſome temporal affairs belonging to the Clergy of their Province. So that the Cardinal's pretended Council was not call'd in the due form. Of the eight Prelats, who made up the Council, five of 'em ſigned the Condemnation, that were not preſent at the examination of the Book. One would be ſurpris'd to find there the name of *Gabriel l'Aubeſpine*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, a Man ſo renown'd for his Books, in which he explains ſome curious pieces of Church Antiquity; were it not that we are otherwiſe inform'd that this Prelate was a Courtier that liv'd an irregular Life. In thoſe days the word was, *Mr. de Orleans, goes to ſerve the Church, when he has no Money to game with.* 1612.

Since the affair of *Richer*'s book was lying before the Parliament, the Biſhops of the Province of *Sens* could not pronounce any Sentence upon it, without encroaching upon the Kings Authority, or that of the Parliament. Beſides, the Author ſhould have been call'd before 'em, and his defences heard. Infine, the Cardinal's Council does at once both condemn and abſolve. All the pretended Erroneous and Heretical Propoſitions related to the rights of the King, and the liberties of the Gallican Church. And yet that's what the Fathers of the Council ſaid they would not meddle with. 'Twas expected from their knowledge and integrity, that they would have pointed out to the publick, thoſe of *Richer*'s Hereſies that have no relation to the rights of the Crown, or the pri-

1612. leges of the Gallican Church. *Gondi* Biſhop of *Paris* having aſſiſted in the Council caus'd to be publiſhed the Decree in all the Pariſhes; upon which *Richer* lodg'd an appeal to the King; And preſented it to the Seal: but the King's letters were denied him, notwithſtanding the good reaſons he alledg'd, in offering too juſtifie himſelf. The oppoſit Cabal was ſo ſtrong, that the Parliament would not receive the Petition he preſented, deſiring 'em to ſolicit the Court for the ſealing of his Letters. *Perron* was to cunning to ſuffer the Decree of his Provincial Council to come before the Parliament. If it had, *Servin* the Advocate General would not have fail'd to make out to the Cardinal that he was either a downright blockhead, or elſe a malicious reviler, and a baſe flatterer of the Pope.

Richer loſes his place of being Agent to the Faculty.

Injuſtice was ſcreu'd up to the higheſt pitch againſt poor *Richer*. Some months after *Harlai de Chanvallon* Abbot of St. Victor at *Paris*, a Man that, purſuant to the Genius of his Family, was ready to declare for or againſt the Court of *Rome*, according as the Court of *France* defired him; this Abbot, I ſay, mov'd in a meeting of the Faculty, that they ſhould chooſe another Syndick. The Doctor did modeſtly withſtand the laſt effort of his Enemies. The Faculty was divided. *Duval* headed 43 cowardly or illiterate Doctors, who backed the Abbot's propoſal. And there were 25 Doctors, Men of Learning and Courage, who ſtood for *Richer*. The Diviſion in the *Sorbonne* went to that heighth, that the Regent and Parliament prohibited the Faculty to proceed to the election of a new Syndick. But *Perron*, the Nuncio, and the Pope's Creatures made ſuch a ſtir, that notwithſtanding the juſt Remonſtrances of *Richer* and his Friends, the King ſent an Expreſs order to the Faculty, to elect a new Syndick. So that there was a neceſſity of obeying. *Richer* profeſs'd publickly that he would die in Communion of the Roman Church; that he was a Loyal Servant to the King and Queen; that he would defend, without Bigotry or Ambition,

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the ancient Doctrine of the School of *Paris*; that he thought it his duty to oppose that pernicious and detestable Doctrine, so cunningly insinuated, that it is lawful to dethrone Kings, and kill Tyrants; and in fine, that he submitted his Book to the censure of the Church and Faculty of *Paris*; and desired nothing more passionately, than to see his Book examined by Just and Impartial Judges. What we now know of *Richer*, is sufficient proof that he suffer'd, with a great deal of moderation and patience, the injustice that was done him. *Filesac* was elected to succeed him as Syndic. 1612.

Publick rejoycings for the double Marriage.

In the midst of all these difficulties, the Regent followed her Diversion more than the Religion and Decency due to the second year of her Mourning did well allow. She only made a shew of lamenting the Tragical Death of the late King. *Nothing*, said *Mary de Medicis*, to President *Jeanin*, whose Son had been Assassinated, *Nothing did so much pacifie my grief after the Death of the late King, as the Affairs of the Regency*; She had spoke more frankly had she said, *as the pleasure I have of seeing my self Mistress of all.* The Dukes of *Vendome* and *Chevreuse* had made a bargain with *Bassompierre* to keep a Ball every *Sunday*, sometimes at the Princess of *Conti*'s House, sometimes at the Dutchess of *Guise*'s, because the Regent durst not keep publick Assemblies in the *Louvre*. The double Marriage was solemnly declared the 25th. of *March*, by the Chancellor, before their Majesties, the Prince of *Conti*, the Peers, and the Officers of the Crown, where the Ambassador of *Spain* consented in his Masters name. After that time he paid the same Honours to the Eldest Daughter of *France*, that the *Spaniards* give to their Queens. But the *French* Courtiers, whose ways are very different from the *Spaniards*, could not forbear laughing, when they saw the Ceremonies and affected Gravity of the Ambassador. *Mary de Medicis* order'd a Magnificent Carousal in the pub-

1612. lick place as a rejoycing for the double Marriage. The three Challengers were the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and *Baſſompierre*. The Conſtable and four Marſhals of *France* were to be Judges. This Feſtival coſt infinite ſums of Money; tho' the deſcription of it does not deſerve a place in a ſerious Hiſtory. *Mary* laid out upon publick Shews, and indiſcreet Preſents, the Millions that the late King had laid up with ſo much care.

A new diſturbance at the Court of France.

The Prince of *Conde* and Count *Soiſſons* did not aſſiſt at the declaration of the Marriage. They had abſented from Court with a reſolution not to return till the King were of Age, and not to ſign the Contract of Marriage. *The Queen*, ſaid they, *may well finiſh by her ſelf, what ſhe negotiated and reſolv'd upon without our knowledge. Pray God forbid we ſhould do that injury to the memory of the late King, to conſent to the breach of the promiſe he made to the Duke of* Savoy, *whoſe Family has been ſo often Allied to that of* France. Such noble ſentiments were highly commendable, if theſe Princes had not made uſe of the like pretences, when only their Intereſt moved them. *Conde* and *Soiſſons* did not find that the Queen was eager to grant them the Gratuities, they were encouraged to expect. She found her ſelf fortified by winning the Houſes of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon*, and aſſured of the Conſtable, and the Marſhals *Bouillon* and *Leſdiguieres*, whom ſhe had gained; and being diſatisfied with what the two Princes had ſaid in the Council, when the double Marriage was propoſed, did not ſeem to trouble her ſelf about them. Only the Conſtable ſeem'd to do 'em ſome ſervice in frighting *Mary de Medicis*. He often repreſented to her, that the Civil Wars and miſery of the former Reigns, were only owing to the bad Counſel given to *Catharine de Medicis*, to deſpiſe the Princes of the Blood. *Madam*, ſays he, *thoſe who whiſper the ſame counſel to you, have more an eye upon the advancement of their own fortune and*

Siri *Mem. Rec. Tom.* 2. p. 640.

intereſt,

intereſt, than the good of the State. If your Ma- 1612.
jeſty gives ear to them, I foreſee that trouble and confuſion will enſue. The Conſtable being Allied to the Princes of the Blood, and an Enemy to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, his advice was ſuſpected. The Regent did not mind it, till the laſt extremity. The *Guiſes* and *Eſpernon* triumph'd during the abſence of *Conde* and *Soiſſons*. The Houſe of *Guiſe* took care of the Carouſal; by pretending to promote the Queens diverſion, they became more powerful than ever. Thoſe who were ill-natur'd did not ſtand to ſay, that ſhe looked ſweetly upon *Chevalier de Guiſe*. When the Princeſs of *Conti*, or the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe* regaled her Majeſty, he commonly ſerv'd her at Table. She ſeemed to be very well pleaſed when ſhe looked narrowly upou his pretty hand, which he himſelf was proud of ſhewing. The Marqueſs *d' Ancre* being hated by the *Guiſes* and *Eſpernon*, could not be eaſie when he ſaw then in ſo much favour: The Miniſters of State were mightily allarm'd at it. They mean'd to mortifie theſe two Ambitious Houſes. *Conchini* was ſtill the more uneaſie becauſe the Q. was angry with him. *Mary* had only rais d him out of reſpect to his wife; and the Marqueſs and ſhe did not agree well; their Domeſtick quarrels ſometimes went to that heighth, that he threatned to forſake the Court. They had lately quarrel'd at Table with ſo much paſſion, that they threw Plates at one another's heads. The Regent ſtood by the Marchioneſs. The *Guiſes* and the Miniſters of State, that did not love *Conchini*, ſided with *Galigai*, and pretended to pity her, in order to influence the Queen againit her Husband. All theſe Circumſtances puſh'd on *Conchini* to joyn in with the Princes of the Blood, who had a mind to humble the *Guiſes* aud *Eſpernon*, and remove the Miniſters from Court. Above all, *Conchini* had a deſign upon the Chancellor. He had employed his intereſt to procure to *Dole* his Creature and Confident, the place of Attorney-General

1612. General to the Parliament of *Paris*, which fell vacant by the death of *la Gueſle*: But *Silleri* carried it for *Believre*, his kinſman. In revenge for this Affront, *Conchini* deſigned to take the Seals from *Silleri*, and cauſe 'em to be given to *Dole*.

The Duke of Mayenne is ſent to demand the Infanta for the K.

In the mean time, the buſineſs of the double Marriage was to be finiſh'd; and the Duke of *Mayenne* to be diſpatch'd in order to go and demand the Infanta for the King. Upon this occaſion the preſence and conſent of the Princes of the Blood was a thing of great moment. The Miniſters of State employ'd ſeveral perſons to negotiate the return of *Conde* and *Soiſſons*. But the Uncle and Nephew would not liſten to any propoſal from the Miniſters who had endeavour'd to ruin them. The Marqueſs of *Ancre*, who ſtood in need of the Prince's aſſiſtance for compaſſing his deſigns, did willingly undertake to go and invite them to return. They promiſed all the reſpect and diſtinction due to their Birth. *Soiſſons* ſuffer'd himſelf to be decoyed by the proſpect of the Government of *Quillebeuf* in *Normandy*. After that, *Conde* was eaſily perſwaded. Preſently the two Princes went to *Paris* accompanied by 500 Horſe. The Regent ſeemed at firſt to be frighted at it; but ſhe quickly retrieved her Courage. In a few days they came to *Fountainbleau*, where the Court paſs'd the Spring time.

Siri *Mem. Tom.* 2. p. 185.

Soiſſons his Friends adviſed him to refuſe to conſent to the double Marriage, and to oblige *Conde* to do the ſame, till ſuch time as he were more aſſured of what they had encouraged him to hope for. But the Marſhal *Leſdiguieres* over-perſwaded him to comply with the Regent's deſires. The Marſhal was retained by the hopes of getting his Patent for Duke and Peer, ratified in Parliament, tho' the Court had amuſed him with the ſame hopes above ſix months before. At laſt the double Marriage being propoſed to the Council, together with the Envoys for the Duke of *Mayenne* and *Puiſieux* Secretary of State; 'Twas concluded upon *nemine contradicente*. Then they read

read the Letters and Inſtructions for the Duke of *Mayenne*, who ſet out ſoon after with *Puiſieux*. The Duke of *Paſtrane* on the other hand, was coming to *France*, to demand Madam *Elizabeth*, the eldeſt Daughter of *France*, in the name of the King of *Spain*. 1912.

The year 1612 was called the year of *Magnificence*, by reaſon of the Feſtivals and Shews given, in *France*, *Spain* and *Naples*, on the account of the double Marriage between the two Crowns, and in *Germany* upon the account of the Election of *Matthias* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, who was Proclaim'd and Crown'd Emperor at *Francfort*. *Rodolph* II. had died of an illneſs in his Legs at *Prague*, in the beginning of this year in the 60th. year of his Age, and 26th. of his Reign in *Germany*. A Prince that would have been reckon'd capable to govern well, had he never been inveſted with a Soveraignty. After his death the Duke of *Newburg* diſputed the Vicarſhip of the Empire, with the Duke of *Smeybruck*, with whom he had formerly diſputed the Adminiſtration of the Parliament, and the Guardianſhip of the young Elector. The two Dukes ſent their Patents into the Provinces of the Vicarſhip of *Palatine*, as the Elector of *Saxony* had ſent into his own Vicarſhip, deſiring all People to continue in Peace, and to lodge all their buſineſs, requiring conſideration, before the Vicar of the Empire, till the next Election. But the Duke of *Smeybruck* had been received as Adminiſtrator, in the Diet of *Nurimberg*, in the preceding year, which was a favourable circumſtance for him. He aſſiſted and voted in the ſame quality at the Election of a new Emperor. Mathias *choſen Emperor*. French *Mercury* 1612.

The Elector of *Mayence*, according to the right granted him in the Golden Bull, called a Diet at *Francfort* on *May* 24. *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria*, being newly made Elector of *Cologne*, after the death of *Erneſt* his Couſin, which happened the preceding *February*; the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, and *John George* Duke of *Saxony*, were there

1612. there preſent. *John Sigiſmond* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* ſent an Ambaſſador to ſit in his place. *Mathias* came laſt, as being King of *Bohemia*, accompanied hy his Queen and 3000 Perſons. He had asked leave of the Electoral Colledge to bring a greater number of Men with him, than the Electoral Bull allows on ſuch occaſions. Their firſt meeting was in the Town-houſe at *Francfort*. They obſerved all the formalities that ought to uſher in the Election. On *June* 13. the Electors went to the Church of St. *Bartholomew*, where they ſwore the uſual Oath: then they entered the Imperial Chamber, and *Mathias* II. King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, was Elected and Proclaimed Emperor. This is not a proper place for a deſcription of all the Ceremonies obſerved upon that occaſion. The greateſt beauty of the Solemnity was owing to the great confluence of the Princes and Nobility of *Germany*. Beſides the Princes of Soveraign Families; Beſides the Counts and Barons that belonged to the Retinues of the Emperor and Electors; there were above 90 others who came to pay their reſpects to *Mathias*.

He was Crown'd *June* 24 with the uſual Solemnity. No body can find fault with the Oath they adminiſter to him, in which he ſwears to protect the Church in General and Particular, to govern the Empire according to the Juſtice of his Predeceſſors, to take care to keep up all their Rights, to uphold the Poor and Rich, the Widows and Orphans; and, in fine, to ſubmit to and obey Jeſus Chriſt. But is it not the higheſt indignity in the World to bring in the Pope of *Rome* immediately after our Saviour? The Emperor promiſes equal obedience to him and the Pope. 'Tis ſtrange that Princes ſhould be ſo blind as not to know the ſpirit of that Religion they ſwear to maintain. For the Biſhop of *Rome* to be Sovereign of ſome Provinces in *Italy*, is a great abuſe of Religion: But for Emperors and Princes to engage to obey him, is an entire overthrow of the Goſpel. In

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former times the Church was ſaid to be in the Empire. Did ever the firſt Chriſtians pretend that the Empire was in the Church? She ought to obey God and the Sovereigns: But Emperors and Kings have none but God above 'em. This was the thought in the firſt Ages, and all the World would ſtill think the ſame, if Princes would be inſtructed in their own true intereſt, and that of the Religion they profeſs. By granting great Riches and Principalities to the Clergy, they have enabled them to degrade their Benefactors. *Mathias* deſir'd that the Empreſs his Wife might likewiſe be crown'd. Accordingly two days after her Coronation was ſolemnis'd. 1612.

Leonard Donato, Doge of *Venice*, died much about the ſame time. *Anthony Memmi* was choſen in his place *July* 24, and crowned next day. *Donato*'s Dogeſhip was famous for the difference between the Republick and *Paul* V. who ſuſpended from Divine ſervice all the Dominions of *Venice*. At firſt the Senate ſeem'd bravely to defend the Lawful Authority of Sovereigns; but when they came to treat with the Pope, the *Venetians* degenerated from the vigor and conſtancy of their Anceſtors on the like occaſions. They ſlackened almoſt on every Article that the Court of *Rome* demanded, excepting the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, who had departed the City upon the ſuſpenſion. That Society did a great deal more harm in *France* than in *Venice*. However, theſe wiſe Senators were content to be delivered from the good Fathers, and ſtood out longer than *France* againſt the ſolicitations of the Court of *Rome*, for their re-eſtabliſhment. While the Seigniory was at variance with the Pope, they prohibited all the Subjects of the Republick, under the pain of irremiſſible Exile, to have any commerce with the Jeſuits, or to ſend their Children to ſtudy in their Colleges. The ſame orders were renewed this year upon the account of Madam *de Breſſe* who had gone to *Caſtiglione* to live under the direction of the good Fathers.

Anthony Memmi made Doge of *Venice*.

French *Mercury*. 1612.

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1612. They had eſtabliſhed there a ſort of College for Girls and young Ladies of Quality. Madam *Breſſane* ſold her Eſtate to advance the new Settlement. But the Senate endeavoured to ſtop the Money, and recall'd all the *Venetian* Ladies that had entred into that College.

Bouillon was gone Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *England*; to notifie the double Marriage to K. *James*, and to remove any jealouſie or ſuſpicion that the new Alliance might occaſion. *Bouillon* had a private deſign in this Voyage. He had a mind to negotiate the Marriage of the Engliſh Princeſs, with the young Elector Palatin, Nephew to his Lady, who was of the Family of *Orange*. *Mary de Medicis* being always made uſe of by the Court of *Rome*, in carrying on its deſigns, recommended to the Ambaſſador to complain to the King of Great Brittain, of his entering into the League of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* againſt the Roman Religion; and to intreat him to moderate the rigor of the Laws againſt the Engliſh Papiſts. The Marſhall had likewiſe an expreſs order to get King *James* to diſallow the conduct of the Proteſtants in *France*, in their laſt Aſſemblies of *Saumur*; and above all to prepoſſeſs him againſt the Duke of *Rohan*, the moſt zealous of all the Proteſtant Lords. *Bouillon* had already done *Rohan* ſuch bad Offices with the Queen; that of himſelf he had no inclination to be favourable to him at the Court of *England*.

James ſuffers himſelf to be over-perſwaded that *France* deſign'd only a general good to *Chriſtendom*, in making the double Alliance with *Spain*; and that the Regent would ſtill continue to value and improve the friendſhip of the Protſtant Princes and Lords. Then *Bouillon* indeavoured to convince his Majeſty, that the Pope would not follow any violent methods againſt the Proteſtants, and that he only thought to Convert 'em by the preaching and exemplary lives of the Clergy. After that he took occaſion to inſinuate to the King the Regents complaints of his entering into the Proteſtant

ſtant League of *Germany*, and her requeſt on the behalf of the Engliſh Papiſts. I cannot tell whether the good Prince believed what he ſaid of the Pope's intentions. Whatever was in it, *James* anſwered that the Proteſtant League regarded only the reciprocal defence of the States of the Confederate Princes; and that Religion was not at all concerned in it. As for the Engliſh Papiſts he proteſted he would willingly ſuffer 'em to live in peace, if they would give him certain aſſurances of their Fidelity, and Obedience. *Bouillon* wrote the anſwer to *France*; and *Villeroy* quickly imparted it to the Nuncio. The Regent preſſed *Ubaldini* to acquaint his Maſter with it, and at the ſame time ſhe wrote it to *Breves* her Ambaſſador, to the end that his Holineſs might find out ſome expedient for giving ſatisfaction to the King of Great Brittain. 1612.

When *Bouillon* came to talk of the affairs of the French Proteſtants, King *James* was not quite ſo tractable. The Duke of *Rohan* entertained a good correſpondence with *Henry* the King's eldeſt Son. That Prince gave great hopes. He ſhewed a zeal for the good of the Proteſtant Religion, that was very uncommon among perſons of his age. The people of *Rome* never loved *Germanicus* more, than thoſe of *England* did this Prince of *Wales*. And perhaps the Father was not leſs jealous of the applauſe given to his Son, than *Tiberius* was once of the reputation of him whom *Auguſtus* had made him adopt. Beſides, *Rohan* had an intereſt with a Gentleman of the Ambaſſador's Retinue. And this his ſecret friend was to acquaint his Britanick Majeſty with the truth of all that paſſed in *France*. So that the King was well prepared, when *Bouillon* came to mention the Aſſembly of *Saumur* to him. *If the Queen your Miſtreſs*, replied he to *Bouillon*, *will infringe the Edicts granted to her Proteſtant Subjects; I do pretend, that the Alliance I have made and confirm'd with* France, *ſhould not hinder to me to relieve and protect 'em. When my neighbours are attack'd upon a quar-*

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1612. *rel that I am concern'd in, the Law of Nature orders me to prevent the evil that may enſue to my ſelf. Believe me Mr. Marſhal,* continues he, *ye muſt reconcile your ſelf to the Duke of* Rohan. *I'll give him to know, that I wiſh you two to live in a good underſtanding together.* Would to God King *James* and his poſterity had always retain'd ſuch juſt ſentiments, ſo neceſſary for the good of *England*, and for the Reformation. Had it been ſo, *Lewis* XIII. nor his Son would not have dared to oppreſs ſo many innocent French-men. The Marſhal *Bouillon* had a mind to keep very fair with the King of *England*, and therfore did not inſiſt further on the Aſſembly at *Saumur*. The ill ſucceſs of his negotiation, as to that point, embroil'd him with the Regent's Miniſters. They gave it out, that *Bouillon* had not follow'd neither the intentions, nor the orders of her Majeſty. On the other hand, the Marſhal complain'd he was not well treated. He pretended they had a deſign to affront him.

Leſdiguieres *diſaffected.*

Leſdiguieres was as much diſſatisfied againſt the Miniſters, as *Bouillon*. He could never obtain the ratification of his Patent for Duke and Peer; either becauſe there was a colluſion between the Regent and the Parliament: or becauſe the Parliament were truely of the opinion that Dignities of the firſt rate ſhould not be beſtowed on Proteſtants. The Parliament repreſented to the Queen, that *Briſſac* and *Fervacques*, who were ancienter Marſhals of *France* than he, would have reaſon to complain, if the ſame diſtinction were not confered upon them. That the Duke of *Roannez* had a brief from the late King promiſing, that no body ſhould be received to the Parliament before him: and infine, that in the time of a minority, by gratifying an upſtart, they run the riſque of diſobliging the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Ancient Families in the Kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe Remoſtrances, the Queen ſent her Sons orders for the verification of the Brief. When the Houſes met upon his buſineſs, their Votes were more divided. And the

Queen

Queen having already got of the Marſhal what ſhe expected, was unwilling to uſe all her Authority, under the pretence that 'twas not prudential to irritate the Parliament in that juncture of Affairs. *Leſdiguieres* was diſſatisfied to ſee himſelf thus plaid upon, and therefore joyn'd in with the Princes of the Blood, and the others, who had combin'd to ruin the Miniſters. 1612.

Conchini being reconciled to his Wife, uſes all his cunning, by means of the Prince of *Conde* and Count of *Soiſſons*, to diminiſh the great Authority aſſum'd by the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon*. *Cæſar* Duke of *Vendoſme* had joined himſelf to them with conſent of the Queen: But that Union, being publiſhed, drew upon him more vexation than he had thought of. The Queen judging the conſent of the Princes of the Blood requiſite to the buſineſs of the Marriage with the D. of *Paſtrane*, ſhe endavours to pleaſe them by humbling the oppoſite Faction. *Vendoſme* had a mind to go to hold the Convention of the States of his Province in *Britany*, whereof he was Governour. The Princes of the Blood, to puniſh him for joyning himſelf with the ancient Enemies of his Father, and the Houſe of *Bourbon*, cauſe ſecretly to be whiſpered to the Queen, that probably *Cæſar* might form a party in a remote Province, where he had great Authority, and vaſt Riches by his Wife, the Heireſs of the Houſe of *Merceur*. *Conchini* and the Miniſters of State made theſe Remonſtances prevail with the Queen. When therefore the Duke of *Vendoſme* came to ask leave of the Q. to go to hold the Convention in *Britany*, ſhe very peremptorily refus'd him. The Marſhal *Briſſac* Lieutenant General of the Province, who was imployed to diſgrace *Cæſar* with the Queen, receiv'd that important Commiſſion. The Duke of *Vendoſme* was ſo incens'd at the refuſal, that he ſent a Challenge to the Marſhal. The Queen was extremely diſpleas'd with the Paſſion of that young Man; and without expecting the reconcilement of *Cæſar* with *Briſſac*, ſhe orders the firſt to de-

The Faction of the Dukes of Guiſe *and* Eſpernon *is diſgrac'd by the Queen.*

1612. part from Court, and to go to his house of *Anet*. And the other took Journey afterwards for *Britany*, Maugre all the efforts, and Intrigues of the Dukes of *Guise*, *Vendosme*, and *Espernon*, who were extremely exasperated with the denials, and disagreeable words they met with in this censure from the Queen.

The Count of Soissons attempts to ruin the Ministers of State.

This mortification of the *Guises* and the Duke of *Espernon* was very pleasing to the Count of *Soissons*: But his revengeful humour was not yet satisfi'd: He had a design to ruin the Ministers of State, and particularly the Chancellor *Silleri*: His hatred to these was increas'd by the thoughts he had that *Silleri*, *Villeroy*, and *Jeannin* hinder'd the Queen from granting him that which she had made him hope for. The Prince of *Conde* was no less vex'd at the Court than this Uncle. They were moreover afraid least the Ministers of State should procure the Disgrace of the Princes of the Blood; as they had done that of the Dukes of *Guise* and *Espernon*, to keep their credit between two opposite parties. The Marquess of *Ancre* did cunningly confirm the Prince and Count in this opinion.

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary of Medicis.

The Queen, said he to them, is very well inclined towards the Princes of the Blood: She would give you satisfaction, were it not for the Ministers of State, who without intermission represent unto her, that it is dangerous to give you an occasion of becoming too powerful in two Provinces, so considerable as *Normandy* and *Guienne*: This is it that makes the Queen so long delay to give *Chateautrumpette* to the Prince, and *Quillebeuf* to the Count. The ambitious *Conchini*, from the very beginning of the Queen's Regency, had form'd a design to innovate all things in the Court, to displace the Ministers of the late King, and to put in their stead such as depended intirely upon himself. The present juncture appear'd favourable to the Marquess of *Ancre*, to execute his intended project.

Being

Being one day in company with the Prince of *Conde* and Count of *Soiſſons*, and the Marſhals *Bouillon* and *Leſdiguiers*, he brought them to an agreement, jointly to endeavour the total ruine of the Miniſters of State. The Count then promiſs'd, That at his return from a little Journey he deſign'd to make into *Normandy*, he would treat the Chancellor *Silleri*, in a moſt outragious manner. *Leſdiguieres*, who return'd diſcontented to *Dauphiny*, promiſed to aſſiſt the Princes, and to bring, in caſe of need, four thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe to the Gates of *Paris*. The Duke of *Savoy* engaged ſecretly in all theſe intrigues: And kept a cloſe correſpondence with the Count of *Soiſſons*. The deſire to revenge himſelf of the Queen Regent, who gave to a Prince of *Spain* the eldeſt Daughter of *France*, that was promis'd to the Prince of *Piemont*; the hopes of making advantage by the confuſions of *France*, and to retake what *Henry* IV. had forced him to give in exchange for the Marquiſate of *Saluces*; all theſe things were powerful motives, to engage the Duke of *Savoy* to omit nothing that might conduce to kindle a Civil War in *France*, by means of the Princes of the Blood, or the *Huguenot* party: it was for this intent that he labour'd inceſſantly, one while with the Count of *Soiſſons*, another while with the Marſhal *Leſdiguieres*: And redoubled his intrigues according as he found the one or the other diſcontented with the Court. 1612.

They engage to undo the Chancellor Sillery.

The Prince of *Conde* and the others had made the Count of *Soiſſons* promiſe, not to acquaint the Marqueſs of *Coeuvers* his Confident with his deſign upon the Chancellor: they very well foreſaw that *Coeuvers*, being accuſtom'd to ſtop the Count, when his Anger carried him too far, would not fail to repreſent to him, that it was a thing unworthy of a Prince of the Blood to affront the chief Magiſtrate of the Kingdom: And the thing happened according to their conjecture. The Count of *Soiſſons* could not keep the Secret, but diſcovers it to the Marqueſs of *Coeuvers*, who lays before

The Marqueſs of Ceuvers *diſſwades the Count of* Soiſſons *from the attempt.*

1612. him the troubleſome conſequences of ſuch an interpriſe. But the difficulty was to diſengage the Count from his promiſe he had made to others: which the Marqueſs readily found the way to do. The difference which *Soiſſons* had in his Journey to *Normandy*, with the Marſhal *Fervacques* on occaſion of the Garriſon of *Quillebeuf*, which *Fervacques* had reinforc'd, unknown to the Court, gave occaſion to the Marqueſs of *Coeuvers* to go ſeveral times to *Normandy*, and to return to the Court, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Count of *Soiſſons*, who openly complained of the Marſhal *Fervacques*.

Conchini, impatient that *Soiſſons* returned not ſpeedily enough to accompliſh the diſtruction of the Chancellor, does himſelf, in preſence of the Prince of *Conde*, *Harlai*, *Beaumont* and *Dole* at Marſhal *Bouillon*'s Appartment, declare to the Marquiſs of *Coeuvers* the reaſons he had to urge the return of the Count. *Coeuvers*, who had pretended to be ignorant of the Plot againſt the Chancellor, when they told him of it; did ſo plainly paint to them the indignity of the attempt, that they were aſhamed of it. *If you can make it appear*, ſays he, *that the Chancellor has not done his duty; is it not more honourable and more ſafe to inform the Queen thereof, and to perſwade her Majeſty to take from him the Seals, than baſely to injure the firſt Adminiſtrator of Juſtice? So great a violence will undoubtedly draw down others upon you. Who would be willing hence forth to ſucceed to* Silleri, *when he ſees, that one cannot exerciſe an Office, which expoſes oftentimes him that fills it*, to the diſpleaſure of the Princes and great Men, for obeying the orders of the King? The Marſhal *Bouillon* was the firſt who yielded to the reaſons of that Marqueſs. *Theſe Reaſons*, ſaid he, *ought ſo much the rather to perſwade, in regard the Marquiſs does generouſly uſe them, in behalf of a man of whom himſelf has great reaſon to complain.* So the cruel and injurious deſign againſt the Chancellor is laid aſide,

aſide, and every one takes meaſures to ruine his Credit with the Queen. 1612.

Conchini and his Wife were herein more ſucceſsful than the reſt. This *Italian* was one of the Craftieſt Impoſtors of the World; for at the very ſame time that he made uſe of the Count of *Soiſſons* to deſtroy the Chancellor and Miniſters of State, he alſo hindred the Queen from giving ſatisfaction to that Prince, by granting him the Government of *Quillebeuf*. The Baron of *Luts*, Agent of the Marqueſs of *Ancre*, did ſolicit, for him, the Duke of *Guiſe*, to declare for the Queen, and to maintain the refuſal ſhe would give the Count of *Soiſſons*. *Guiſe* was ſo offended at the Treachery of *Conchini*, that he revealed it to the Count. The Houſe of *Guiſe*, the Cardinal of *Joieuſe* and *Bellegarde* Maſter of the Horſe, being diſpleaſed with what the Queen had done to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, ſought to reunite themſelves with the Princes of the Blood, againſt the Marqueſs of *Ancre*. The Duke of *Eſpernon* only neglected to enter into that Treaty; whether it was his Pride that hindered him to make his Court to the Princes of the Blood to confirm his ſtaggering Credit, or the Rhumatiſm which then tormented him, and permitted him not to think of the Intrigues of the Court. *The Impoſtures of the Marquiſs of Ancre.*

There were in the *Guiſian* Faction ſome *French* Lords who were no better, and, perhaps, worſe than the Marqueſs of *Ancre*. It was commonly believed that *Bellegard* that year ſuborned certain Perſons to accuſe *Conchini*, whom of a long time he had hated, of practiſing, I know not what, Enchantments with a Looking-Glaſs to procure Love. This mightily allarmed the Marqueſs of *Ancre*, who believed himſelf ſo near a Diſaſter, that he offered to bring back to Court the Duke of *Mayenne* his Friend, who was already at the foot of the *Pyrenees* to paſs into *Spain*. *Conchini* intended to make uſe of him and the Count of *Soiſſons* againſt his Enemies: but he found the way to get off without the Duke of *Mayenne*. And this

1612. buſineſs alſo afforded him occaſion of doing ill Offices to the Chancellor with the Queen. He had got Commiſſioners for trying of his Accuſer, which were to be Sealed. *Silleri* who loved not the Marqueſs of *Ancre*, and favoured his Enemies, made ſome difficulty to put to the Seals: Of this *Conchini* made complaint to the Queen, who from that time forth bore ill will to the Chancellor.

The evil Counſels to which the Queen gave ear, occaſioned to her great troubles on every ſide, from the Princes of the Blood, the great Lords, and, in fine, from the Reformed. The diviſion of the chief men of that Communion, gave opportunity to the *Queen* and her Miniſters, to attempt certain things againſt the Edicts, which they durſt never have thought upon, if two Men, who were capable to maintain their Religion againſt all the World, would have kept up a good Correſpondence, and acted in Agreement: I ſpeak of Marſhal *Bouillon*, and the Duke of *Rohan*. The former made uſe of the Intereſt he had with the *Queen* to ruin the other in her Favour. That which paſſed in the Aſſembly at *Saumur*, did ſo incenſe the Marſhal againſt the Duke, that he attempted to diveſt him of the Government of St. *John* of *Angeli*; which the late King had confer'd upon him. The Duke *Rohan* knowing well what ill offices were inceſſantly done him at Court, he repairs thither to juſtifie himſelf. After he had repreſented to the *Queen*, that he had demeaned himſelf as an honeſt Man in the Aſſembly at *Saumur*. *I own Madam*, added the Duke, *that I there oppoſed Marſhal* Bouillon, *but it was only that I might give your Majeſty new teſtimonies of my Fidelity, and of the Zeal I have for your ſervice. I ever diſtruſt ſuch Perſons as are every where medling: It is ſeldom that their intentions are upright. If the Marſhal had obtained his deſign in our Aſſembly at* Saumur: *He would have known how to improve it againſt your ſelf. Had the Marſhal became maſter among us, your Authority would*

would not thereby have been the better eſtabliſhed. 1612.

The Duke of *Rohan* experienc'd in this occaſion the truth of an Obſervation made by himſelf, that *a Prince prepoſſeſſed is hard to be perſwaded:* The *Queen* gave no heed to what he repreſented. The time of Electing the Mayor of St. *John* of *Angeli* drew nigh, and it was of great importance to the Duke of *Rohan*, that he who was in the place, ſhould be removed; for the Faction contrary to the Duke, had gained him to their Party: And if their project ſucceeded, the Duke had loſt all his Authority in the place. Pretending therefore that his Brother was dangerouſly ill, he departed ſuddenly from *Paris*, and taking *Soubize* with him by the way, They came both to St. *John* of *Angeli*. The day of Election being come, a Letter was produc'd under the King's Signet, ordering that the former Mayor ſhould be continued, without being a precedent for the future, or prejudice to the priviledges of the Inhabitants. The Duke of *Rohan* repreſented to them, that his Majeſty had been wrong informed of the ſtate of the City, where there was no Diviſion, as the Letter ſuppoſed, and that they might go on to a new Election, in the uſual manner. *I hope*, ſaid he, *I ſhall make it to be approved by his* Majeſty: *And, for that effect, I'll ſend my Secretary to the Court.*

The Marſhal *Bouillon* flatter'd himſelf, that the Duke would infallibly ruin himſelf; what courſe ſoever he took in an Affair ſo nice, and delicate. If *Rohan* ſuffered the former Mayor to continue, his Authority would be loſt; and if he oppos'd himſelf to the order of the Court, they would be obliged to puniſh a Man that contemned the Authority of the King. The Marſhal to engage the *Q.* ſo as ſhe might not hereafter draw back, perſwaded her to ſend an Order yet more expreſs, to continue the former Mayor. But the Duke of *Rohan* being perſwaded, that if he loſt his Go-

1612. vernment, he was ruined himſelf beyond redreſs, believed that he ought not to obey Orders which the *Queen*, impos'd upon by his Enemies, had ſent. A new Mayor is choſen, that is to ſay, three Perſons were pitched upon, whoſe names were ſent to the Court, that her Majeſty might deſign him ſhe Judg'd moſt proper. While they expected the anſwer from the *Queen*, the Keys of the City were given to the eldeſt Sheriff. The Duke of *Rohan* alſo made himſelf Maſter of the City, from which he made to depart ſome ſubaltern Officers that oppoſed him.

This bold Action did extreamly incenſe the Q. againſt the Duke of *Rohan*; and thoſe whom he had diſpatched to the Court, were ſent to the Baſtile. The Dutcheſs, his Mother, his Wife, and his Siſters were prohibited to go out of *Paris*. Some propos'd in Council, to beſiege the Duke in St. *John* of *Angeli*, as a Rebel. Orders were given out to aſſemble ſome Forces, and to cauſe the Artillery to March. The *Queen* gave out that ſhe would go to the Army her ſelf, that the Marſhals *Bouillon* and *Leſdiguieres* were willing to command it, to let the Reformed ſee that Religion was not the buſineſs, but only to chaſtiſe the revolt of a particular Lord. The Duke on the other hand publiſhed a Manifeſto addreſs'd to the Reformed Churches: Wherein he advertiſed them, that his Zeal for their preſervation had drawn upon him this perſecution; that the loſs of S. *John Angeli*, would draw on that of other places of ſecurity; and that their Enemies would not ſtop in ſo fair a way, if they once deſpoil'd him of his Government; and concludes with a pathetic Exhortation. The Duke complained that Commiſſioners had inquired into his Conduct, and having found it unblamable, they had informed againſt Gentlemen, who were found guilty of no other Crime, but that of paying him a viſit. *The Court is afraid*, ſaid he, *leaſt our divided body ſhould re-unite. The Intereſt which* Rohan *by his Quality, and that Integrity which he ever*

French Mercury 1612.

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profeſs'd, has therein acquired, gives umbrage. 1612.
Ought we therefore to be weakned by little and little, and deſtroyed by pieces? Let us look about us if we would ſubſiſt. Let us retrieve the good Correſpondence which was ſometimes among us. Let us devote our ſelves to the ſervice of our God, and our King. Let us labour for the good of our Churches, and the State, whereof we were the moſt ſound and moſt conſiderable Party, before our Diviſions in the Aſſembly of Saumur. This great Man, who better underſtood the Art of War, than that of Writing, not content with publiſhing Declarations, prepares himſelf for a vigorous Defence.

A Declaration alſo was publiſh'd by the Queen, wherein ſhe takes great care to inform the World, That her Majeſty only complains of the Enterpriſe of the Duke of *Rohan*; and exhorts all Frenchmen, of both the one and the other Religion, to aſſiſt their Majeſties in their juſt deſign to puniſh a Crime of dangerous conſequence to the common Good of the State; and, in fine, ſhe proteſts to the Reformed, that Religion having no part in that Affair, the Edicts of Pacification are not at all thereby infring'd. *Du Pleſſis* was now extreamly perplex'd; the City of *Saumur*, whereof he was Governour, lay exactly on the Queen's Road, in caſe ſhe march'd to *S. John* of *Angeli*; and in prudence ſhe was oblig'd to make ſure of that important Paſſage. *Du Pleſſis* knew not what ſide to take: *If I fortifie my ſelf*, ſaid that diſcerning Gentleman, *if I call in aſſiſtance, I ſhall be aſſaulted under pretence of Rebellion. On the other hand, if I don't ſee to my ſelf, I abandon a place of Security, which is committed to my Truſt, to the diſcretion of our Enemies. Let us rather run the hazard to ſink under Violence and Injuſtice, than to inflame the Hatred of our Reformation, by affording our Enemies a new Pretence to accuſe us of Rebellion. What Crime can be laid to my Charge? I fear neither Tryals nor Examinations. Why ſhould I be found fault with? I have*

no

1612. *no hand in the Affair of the Duke of* Rohan; *to assault me on the account of Religion, would set all the Kingdom in a Flame.* *Du Plessis* therefore having resolv'd not to stir, judg'd it most requisit to represent to the Ministers of State the troublesome Consequences of the ill Counsels that were given to her Majesty, and to exhort them to suffer the Reformed to enjoy quietly the Repose, which the late King, with so much Justice and Wisdom, had granted them.

The good Advices given by *Du Plessis* had found a more ready reception, if the Enemies of the Duke of *Rohan*, that were of his own Religion, had not stood in the way: Nevertheless, whether it was that the *Queen* minded what the King of *England* answer'd to Marshal *Bouillon* about the Affairs of the Protestants of *France*, or that she fear'd lest many Provinces declaring for the Duke of *Rohan*, a Civil War might be kindled in *France*; her Majesty at length acknowledg'd, that if the Duke of *Rohan* had too haughtily resisted her Orders, she had also too lightly expos'd the Authority of the King: Wherefore an Accommodation is endeavour'd. *Themines* the Seneschal of *Querci*, is sent to *St. John of Angeli*, to reclaim the Duke. *Du Plessis* had wisely counsell'd him, willingly, and with a good grace in all outward appearance, to yield to the *Queen*, provided he should retain his Government as formerly; and the business was brought to this upshot: The former Mayor was restor'd, and the subaltern Officers which the Duke had made depart the City, were receiv'd in again: but a few days after a new Election was made, and the *Queen* gave the other Imployments to such as sided not with the Duke.

The Reconciliation of the Protestant Lords of France.

The Reformed kept afterward a National Synod at *Privas*; they there concluded, that the Division of the Lords of their Communion would be the ruine of the Reformation in *France*: wherefore they resolve to endeavour effectually to reconcile them. They also write to *du Plessis*

to pray him to joyn his Sollicitations with thoſe of the Commiſſioners, which the Aſſembly had appointed to labour in that important Affair. The Marſhals *Bouillon* and *Leſdiguieres* being diſpleas'd with the Court, readily agreed to the Reunion, which render'd them more formidable to the *Queen* and her Miniſters. The Princes of the Blood, with whom they were in league, were ingag'd to have a greater Conſideration for Men that had the whole *Huguenot* Party well united on their ſide. In the Act of Reconciliation, prepar'd with the Advice of *du Pleſſis Mornay*, the Lords of the Reformation promiſe mutually to forget what was paſt; to love one another; to give Teſtimonies of mutual Amity, as far as Religion and the Fidelity due to the King would allow; to endeavour jointly the advancement of the Kingdom of God, and the quiet of their Brethren; and to do nothing that might prejudice the Union and Uniformity of the Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd in the Reform'd Churches of *France*. The Dukes of *Rohan* and *Sulli*, the Marſhals *Bouillon* and *Leſdiguieres*, *Chatillon*, *Soubize*, *la Force*, and *du Pleſſis Mornay*, ſign'd the Writing. It was agreed alſo, that the Governours of the places of ſecurity, and Gentlemen of note in the Provinces, ſhould be requir'd to ſubſcribe. 1612

The Proteſtation of the National Synod of Privas, in name of all the Reform'd Churches of France, againſt a new Declaration of the King.

The Proteſtation of the National Synod of *Privas*, publiſh'd in name of all the Reform'd Churches of *France*, made a great noiſe in the World; whereof this was the occaſion. The Queen, in a Letter to the General Aſſembly at *Saumur*, had enjoyn'd the Deputies to depart to their Provinces, and there to *make Report of the good Intentions of her Majeſty*. The Reformed perceiving that the Aſſembly was oblig'd to break up, without having time to conſider the Anſwers made to their Paper of Complaints and Demands, they believ'd they might make up that Inconvenience by means of Provincial Aſſemblies: theſe the Regent ſeem'd to allow of, by ordering Deputies to make report in their Provinces. The Provincial

1612 vincial Aſſemblies therefore meet for that effect, without being blamed therefore by the Court: Some of them were call'd together by the King's Lieutenants themſelves, and Preſidents of ſupreme Courts were preſent at others; and the Queen her ſelf had order'd the Commiſſioners that were ſent to enquire into the Contraventions of the Edict of *Nantes*, to go into the Provinces before the holding of the Aſſemblies; and on ſome occaſions they were preſent at them. It can't then be ſaid, that they were held without the Knowledge and Permiſſion of her Majeſty, who may well be ſaid to have allow'd them, inaſmuch as her Commiſſioners were order'd to be preſent at them, and ſeeing her Officers and the publick Magiſtrates actually were there.

French Mercury. 1612.

The Deputies of the eight Provinces being afterwards come to *Paris*, with a deſign to accompliſh what the Aſſembly of *Saumur* had not been able to do, and to preſs for more favourable Anſwers to their Paper, the Queen found her ſelf in a perplexity, which ſhe had not foreſeen. It muſt be own'd, that the procedure of the Reformed on this occaſion was wiſely contriv'd; this being a good way to prevent the Advantages which their ſecret and open Enemies thought to draw from the diſſolution of the Aſſembly of *Saumur*. It is very likely that the Duke of *Rohan* had found out this Expedient to thwart the Marſhal *Bouillon*, who pretended to have done great Service to the Court, by carrying affairs ſo well at the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, that the Queen could not have wiſh'd a more favourable concluſion. Theſe Deputations did well near as much perplex the Queen and her Council, as if the general Aſſembly had yet been ſitting; and made it appear, that the Marſhal *Bouillon* had not done ſo great Wonders. He therefore, to ſave his reputation, found it neceſſary to look out for a Remedy for this great Inconvenience; and he judg'd he could not light of a better, than to ſend back the Deputies of the Provinces, as coming from ſuch as had

Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, *Bo.* 1.

had assembled against the King's Will, or at least without his permission; and lest the Court should make difficulty therein, on account of the Discontent which the refusal to hear the Deputies might occasion, the Marshal agreed to take upon himself all the Evil that might ensue. 1612

They did not stop here, for the Queen issued out a Proclamation, forbidding the Reformed henceforth to hold Provincial Assemblies. Consistories, Conferences, Provincial and National Synods were only allow'd on condition that none but Ministers and Elders should be present; and that nothing should there be treated, but what concern'd the Doctrine and Discipline of the Reformed Churches of *France*. The Assemblies held since that of *Saumur* were in very gentle terms declar'd unlawful; and that those who had been present at them might not be uneasie, the King pardon'd that pretended Fault, and prohibited his Officers to give them any trouble, his Majesty supposing that they had gone thither with an honest intention, and not designing to disobey the Orders of the late King. The Reformed were much surpriz'd to have a Pardon granted them for a Crime which they thought they had never committed; and their Deputies-general presented a Supplication to the Parliament to oppose the enrolling of that Declaration. They protested, that their Churches were so far from having petition'd for such a Pardon, that they look'd upon it as injurious and disgraceful, and that none of the Reformed had any design to make use of it. This Opposition retarded the recording of it, but the Court having gain'd some of the Reformed to demand it, under pretence that they wanted it for their own security, the Declaration was register'd in the usual form.

This Business made a great Noise in the National Synod of *Privas*; and therein it was resolv'd to make a publick and solemn Protestation, that the Provincial Assemblies had not been held contrary to the Will of the King, and that the Reformed look'd

1612. look'd on the Pardon which his Majeſty had granted on this occaſion, as a Diſgrace which they had not deſerved: And at the end of the Act they declare, that they will never make uſe of the pardon which the King pretended to grant, and that they plainly diſown ſuch Proteſtants as may have deſerved it. The Court, to quiet the troubles which this had occaſion'd in ſome Provinces, gave out another Declaration, by way of Explication of the former. His Majeſty therein acknowledged, that he was very well contented with the Fidelity and Obedience of his Proteſtant Subjects, but at bottom it brought no remedy to the miſchief which the other Declaration had done: the Provincial Aſſemblies continue ſtill prohibited, which was all that the Court, already freed from the Solicitations of the Deputies, had hitherto deſired.

The Entry of the D. of Paſtrane *into* Paris.

The arrival of the Duke of *Paſtrane* at *Paris*, conduc'd much to alleviate the trouble, which theſe Affairs had occaſion'd to the *Queen*. He was entertain'd with extraordinary Reſpect in all the Cities through which he paſs'd. The Dukes of *Nevers* and *Luxemburg* went to meet him without the Gates of *Paris*, accompany'd with four or five hundred Gentlemen. His Entry was magnificent, his Equipage ſumptuous, and his Train numerous and richly accouter'd. *Don Francis* and *Don Diego De Sylva* his Brothers, and many other Spaniſh Lords, came with him. He had his firſt Audience of the King on the 16th of *Auguſt*. The Princes of the Blood, the Great Lords, and the Cardinals *Sourdis* and *Bonzi*, were invited to the Ceremony. The Cardinals excus'd themſelves, pretending that their dignity did not allow them to be plac'd beneath Princes of the Blood. A ridiculous and unſufferable plea! To ſpeak properly, theſe Cardinals are nothing elſe but Prieſts and Deacons of the particular Church of *Rome*. Ever ſince they have been allow'd the inſolence of wearing purple; they think they are not inferior to Crown'd Heads. *Mary de Medicis* being deſirous that the Spaniard ſhould ſee the Court of *France* in all its ſplendor,

French Mercury, 1612.

Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 2 *p.* 697.

ſplendor, wiſh'd the Cardinals would be preſent at the Audience. She ſent them word that there ſhould be no diſtinction of places, and that every one ſhould take place as he came. The Princes of the Blood preſently clapp'd in to the King's Right Hand. The Cardinals being excluded in that quarter, went to place themſelves by the *Queen*, but they did not ſtay long there. The Princeſs Dowager of *Conde* would not ſuffer them to be above her; and the Regent, being affraid to diſoblige the Princes of the Blood, who would not have fail'd to maintain the Right of the Princeſſes, ſuffer'd the Cardinals to go out with the confuſion that their childiſh ambition merited. 1612.

There was yet a more flaming difference by the King. The D. of *Nevers* plac'd himſelf upon the Seat allotted for the Princes of the Blood. Count *Soiſſons* being diverted by talking to the P. of *Conti* his Brother, did not take notice that *Nevers* was plac'd juſt by him. As ſoon as the Prince of *Conde*, who ſate above his two Uncles, obſerv'd it, he preſs'd and ſqueez'd up *Conti*; *Conti* does the ſame to *Soiſſons*, and he in his turn preſſes *Nevers* with all his might. *I do not know*, ſays *Nevers*, *why ye preſs me at this rate.* The Prince of *Conde* anſwers in a ſtately manner, *Becauſe this is not your place.* Several hard words were ſpoke on both ſides. At length *Conde* making a ſign to *Nevers* to follow, ſaid, we ſhall underſtand one another better in another place. The Marſhal *Bouillon* run after the Prince, to ſtop him; for as he paſs'd by the Duke, he had given him to know that it was a challenge. The matter was put up, upon the ſpot, by the King's Orders. And the Regent check'd the D. of *Nevers*, for placing himſelf upon the Seat, allotted only to Princes of the Blood. The *Guiſes* had no diſpute for their Rank. The Duke and his two Brothers went to conduct *Paſtrane* to his Audience. After the Ambaſſador had made his Compliment, and deliver'd his Credentials, he was conducted to the Apartment of Madam *Elizabeth*, who was deſign'd for the Prince

of

1612. of *Spain*; and from thence to the Duke of *Anjou*'s, where he ſaluted that Prince and the two other Daughters of *France*.

The Signing of the Articles of Marriage between the Prince of Spain *and the Eldeſt Daughter of* France.

The 25th of *Auguſt*, being St. *Lewis* day, was appointed for Signing the Articles of Marriage between Madam *Elizabeth* and the Prince of *Spain*. The Duke of *Paſtrane*, and *Don Innigo de Cardenas*, King *Philip*'s Ambaſſador in *France*, ſign'd them, as Commiſſioners from the Father and Son, immediately after the King, the *Queen* mother, Madam *Elizabeth*, and *Queen Margaret*. The Nuncio and the Ambaſſador, as repreſenting the two Mediators, ſet their Names after the three Princes of the Blood. *Elizabeth*'s Dowry was 500000 Crowns of Gold; 'twas to be paid the over night before the conſummation of the Marriage. The Princeſs renounc'd all her Right of Succeſſion to her Father, Mother and Brothers, without excepting the Eſtates that were not entail'd to Males; namely, the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the Principality of *Bearn*, which *Henry* IV. held from his Mother. The Duke of *Paſtrane* continued ſome days at *Paris*; he was regal'd with all poſſible diverſions. As he arriv'd at *Bourdeaux* in his return to *Spain*, he met there the D. of *Mayenne* returning from *Madrid*. He had gone thither to Sign the Articles of Marriage between *Lewis* XIII. of *France*, and *Anne* the Infanta of *Spain*.

The D. of Mayenne *his Entry at* Madrid.

The D. of *Mayenne* was more honour'd in *Spain* than *Paſtrane* was in *France*, either out of regard to his quality of a Prince of a Sovereign Family allied to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or elſe becauſe the *Spaniards* were proud of out-doing the French in magnificence and gallantry. On the way he paſs'd by a Houſe of the D. of *Lerma*'s, where that Favourite order'd that *Mayenne* ſhould be ſplendidly entertained; and to the end that the Feaſt might appear with a more gallant air, it ſeem'd that 'twas all upon the Charges of the Inhabitants of *Lerma*, who were tranſported with joy for the Honour of ſo great a Gueſt. The

Duke

Duke upon this occaſion did not fail to diſplay all his coſtly Houſhold Goods, and Hangings bor-der'd with gold Embroidery, enrich'd with Ru-bies and Emeralds. The Dukes of *Alva*, *Infan-tado*, *Albuquerque*, the Admiral of *Caſtile*, and ſeveral other Grandees of *Spain*, accompanied by 500 Gentlemen on Horſeback, their Horſes being richly harneſs'd, came out of *Madrid* to receive the Duke. His Entry was very pretty, but the Ambaſſador being in deep mourning for his Fa-ther, and the Court of *Spain* being gone into Mourning for the death of the Queen, the Cere-mony made the leſs Figure. The 17th of *July*, the Duke *d'Uſeda* conducted the Ambaſſador to his Audience of the King. The Prince of *Spain* was on his Majeſty's Left Hand, and the Duke of *Lerma* on the Right. The Father and the Son embrac'd the Ambaſſador when he approach'd to kiſs their hands. This diſtinction was granted to the quality of a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*. Then he was conducted to have Audience of the Infanta. The Duke kiſs'd her hand, becauſe her Highneſs had declar'd ſhe would treat the Am-baſſador, as a Queen treats her Subject. 1612.

The Sign-ing of the Articles of Marriage between K. Lewis 13. and the Infanta of Spain.

The 22th of *Auguſt* was appointed as the day for Signing the Articles of Marriage. All the Court, bating the King, laid off their Mourning for that day. The Duke of *Lerma* went to con-duct the Ambaſſador to the Palace. Neither his Majeſty, nor the Prince, nor the Infanta of *Spain*, aſſiſted at the ceremony of Signing. There were two Papers drawn, one in French, the other in Spaniſh. Firſt, The Duke of *Mayenne*, *Puiſieux* Secretary of State, and *Vancelas* Ambaſſador or-dinary at *Madrid*, Sign'd the French one, as Proxies for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the Queen his Mother. Then the Duke of *Lerma* Sign'd as Proxy for the Catholick King, Father and Guardian to the Infanta. In the Spaniſh Act the Order was alter'd. *Lerma* Sign'd, and the French after him. The Infanta renounc'd, for her ſelf and her Children, all the Rights of Suc-

1612. ceſſion to the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*. Two caſes were only excepted, *viz.* If ſhe became a Widow, without Children, and return'd to *Spain*; and if for reaſons of State, and the Publick Good of the Spaniſh Monarchy, ſhe ſhould marry again with the conſent of the King, of her Father, or the Prince of *Spain* her Brother, in this laſt caſe ſhe was to be reſtor'd to her Right of Succeſſion to either.

After the Signing of the Articles, the Duke of *Mayenne* was conducted to a Hall, where the King was, with the Prince and Infanta by him. The Ambaſſador bow'd only to the Father. He firſt harangu'd to the Daughter in the quality of *Queen* of *France*. Some days after, when the Duke took leave of her, he pray'd her to give him ſome Meſſage to the King his Maſter. *Aſſure him*, ſays the Infanta, *that I am very impatient to ſee him.* This anſwer did not ſeem grave enough to the Counteſs of *Altamira* her Governeſs. *Ah! Madam*, ſaid the Spaniſh Lady, *what will the King of* France *think, when the Duke tells him that ye have ſo great a paſſion for Marriage? You taught me*, reply'd the Infanta with ſome life, *that we ought always to ſpeak the truth.* The young Princeſs long'd for a Husband, that did not make her ſo happy as ſhe expected.

A Conſpiracy againſt the D. of Parma.

We ſhall ſee by and by the face of Affairs quite alter'd in *Italy* by the death of *Francis* D. of *Mantua*, which happen'd towards the end of the Year 1612. but I reſerve the particular account of that Affair for the following Year. In the mean time, I cannot paſs over an Affair that made a great deal of noiſe in *Italy* in the Month of *March* in this Year. *Francis* of *Mantua* ſucceeded to *Vincent* his Father, Son to the eldeſt Siſter of *Mary de Medicis*. A few days after *Ranuce* D. of *Parma* diſcover'd a ſtrange conſpiracy contriv'd againſt him above a Year before, and againſt the whole *Farneſe* Family. He thought he had ſufficient proof that *Vincent* the late D. of *Mantua*, the Cardinals *Sforze* and *d'Eſte*, the Prince of *Modena*,

Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 2. p. 657.

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the D. of *Mirandula*, and another Soveraign, were concern'd in that deteſtable deſign. The account of the matter is this: Several Gentlemen, and ſome Ladies of Quality, in the Country of *Parma*, and thereabouts, combin'd together to kill him and all his Family, and to ſeize upon the Cities of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, which were afterwards to be deliver'd to ſome neighbouring Princes that gave the Conſpirators ſome Money. There is this difference between true Religion and Superſtition; the one ſtrikes us with horror for the leaſt crimes, whereas the other can bend it ſelf to the blackeſt actions. The wretches that attempted the life of *Henry* IV. K. of *France* went to confeſs, and then took the Sacrament together, to prepare them for the Execution of their barbarous deſign. And thoſe who conſpir'd not long after againſt *Ranuce* D. of *Parma*, and all the *Farneſe* Family, ſwore upon the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, to be faithful one to another, and never to diſcover the Enterpriſe. 1612.

The firſt Project was to take occaſion of the ſolemn Baptiſm of the young Prince of *Parma*, where Cardinal *Farneſe*, and all his Family, were to be preſent. There they reſolv'd to kill *Ranuce*, his Children, the Cardinal, and all that were devoted to the *Farneſe* Family. The ceremony of the Baptiſm being luckily put off, they continued to aſſemble, and concert meaſures for the execution of their deſign. They had already gain'd a great many people, and ſome neighbouring Princes were to furniſh them with Soldiers at a ſeaſonable time. When they ſaw that the Baptiſm was put off for too long a time, and that the conſpiracy might be diſcover'd, they agreed to attack and aſſaſſinate the Duke of *Parma* in an Abbey, whither he was retir'd to take the Air, and to perform ſome pieces of devotion with the Capuchins. After that the Reſolve was, that they ſhould come to *Parma* in the Night-time, and kill the Duke's Children, and thoſe of his Houſe, Pillage the Palace and Town, and ſeize upon the Citadel. Ano-

1612. ther party of the Conſpirators were by vertue of ſome intelligence to make themſelves Maſters of the City and Caſtle of *Plaiſance*, which were to be deliver'd to the D. of *Mantua*.

In Conſpiracies that cannot be executed without long time & many complices, there is almoſt always one or other that reflects ſeriouſly upon the Enterpriſe. The fear of puniſhment, the hopes of being well rewarded, nay, the horror of the crime, & the remorſes of Conſcience, put them upon a diſcovery. The Duke of *Parma* was ſo happy as to meet with ſome of this diſpoſition, who advertis'd him of the impending danger. After an exact information of all the particulars of the Conſpiracy, *Ranuce* publiſh'd a Manifeſto, containing a circumſtantial account of the Plot, and the names of the principal Complices, whom the Duke ſummon'd to come and clear themſelves. 'Twas thought, the Names of ſome perſons conſiderable for their quality and rank, were ſuppreſs'd. *Vincent* D. of *Mantua*, that died but ſome days before, was ſo exactly deſign'd, that all the World knew him to be meant under the Name of the firſt Conſpirator. The Captain of the Guards was the ſecond Conſpirator. *Francis* his Succeſſor complain'd loudly of the injury done to the Memory of his Father, and demanded reparation. The buſineſs made ſuch a buſtle in *Italy*, that a Rupture was fear'd between the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mantua*. The former had recourſe to the Protection of the King of *Spain*, whom the famous *Alexander* of *Parma* had ſerv'd ſo well; and the other being the Nephew of the Regent of *France*, implor'd the protection of that Crown. *Charles Emmanuel*, D. of *Savoy*, offer'd to interpoſe for the accommodation of the two Princes; but 'twas quickly perceiv'd that *that* turbulent ſpirit mean'd rather to inflame the quarrel, and raiſe a War wherein he hop'd to find his advantage, than to determine the difference. The two parties agreed to leave one part of the conteſt to the Arbitration of the D. of *Urbin*. The Governor of *Milan* manag'd the reſt of

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that Affair in the Name of the K. of *Spain*. And thus the two Princes disbanded the Troops they had already on foot. 1612.

The Queen Regent, to put an end to the perpetual complaints of the Duke of *Savoy*, offer'd several times to give *Christina* her second Daughter to the Prince of *Piedmont*. Nevertheless this hindred not, but that the giving her in Marriage to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Son of *James* the First King of *Great Britain*, was also discours'd of; whether it was, that *Mary de Medicis* was ambitious to make all her Daughters Queens, or that she desired to break off the Negotiation which was very far advanced between his *Britanick* Majesty and the Duke of *Savoy*, about the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* with the Princess of *Savoy*. King *James* had demanded the eldest Daughter of *France*: But perceiving that the Queen was already so far engag'd with *Spain*; he harken'd to the propositions which were made to him by the Duke of *Savoy*. Now the King of *England*, passing in the world, for one that was a lover of Money, *Cosmus* Great Duke of *Tuscany*, being better stor'd with it, than *Charles Emmanuel*, interposed, offering one of his Sisters to the Prince of *Wales*, with a very considerable Dowry. But the Pope influenc'd, perhaps by the Queen Regent, who pretended to make up the losses of the Duke of *Savoy*, by procuring the Princess of *Tuscany* to the Prince of *Piemont*, wrote pressingly to the Great Duke, to diswade him from an Alliance which the Holy See could not approve. Notwithstanding the Pope's Letters, which *Cosmus* judged precarious, he kept his design, to marry his Sister to *England*: and sollicited the Queen Regent to assist him with her interest at *Rome*, to obtain a Dispensation: but the Queen, who had other thoughts in her head, gave him a flat refusal. The Duke of *Savoy* writ to his Ambassador in *France*, to tell the Ambassador of the King of *England*, that his Highness, knowing well the difference between a Daughter of *France*, and a Princess

Sir. Memoir. recondite Tom. 2. p. 647. 654, 672, 673, 710.

1612. of *Savoy*, did not think it ſtrange, that a Daughter of *Henry* IV. was prefer'd to his own: But that he would take it as ſenſible Affront, if his Britanick Majeſty would reject a Princeſs of *Savoy*, to marry his Son to the Houſe of the *Medicis*.

The Queen teſtifi'd ſo much forwardneſs for the marriage of *Chriſtina* to the Prince of *Wales*, that Eſquire *Edmonds* Ambaſſador of *England*, believ'd he had reaſon, from the manner of *Villeroy*'s ſpeaking to him, to think that it would be only long of King *James*, if the marriage were not concluded, and that the Queen would willingly agree to any Conditions. As ſoon as the King had receiv'd the news, he ordered *Robert Carr*, Viſcount of *Rocheſter* his Minion, to write to Prince *Henry*, then at *Richmond*, and to pray him to tell him freely if he lik'd the Match. *Henry* had been told that *Chriſtina* was but nine years of Age, and that the Dowry of the Eldeſt Siſter was only five hundred thouſand Crowns. *But* France, added *Rocheſter*, *ſhews ſuch eagerneſs for the marriage, that it is not doubted but ſhe will give more to the younger Siſter, in caſe the augmentation of the Dowry be inſiſted on.*

Letters between Prince Henry and Rocheſter.

The Prince of *Wales* anſwer'd with much Wiſdom to the King his Father, upon the Contents of Squire *Edmonds*'s Letter, which had been ſent him at the ſame time: *As for the time*, ſaid he, *when the Princeſs ſhall be brought to* England, *I believe the ſooner it is, it will be the better, and that your Majeſty ought to be poſitive in that. So long as the Princeſs remains in* France, *the Queen her Mother will be able to forward or retard the Marriage as ſhe pleaſes, and may oblige her Daughter to give her Conſent, or hinder her. The younger ſhe is, the more time and the leſs difficulty we ſhall have to inſtruct her in our Religion, and to convert her. If your Majeſty be deſir'd to explain your ſelf upon the liberty which the Princeſs ſhall have in the exerciſe of her Religion, I pray you, Sir, to anſwer peremptorily to your Ambaſſador, that you will not agree to grant any other Conditi-*

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ons to France *than thoſe which the Duke of* Savoy *himſelf demanded, when he offer'd you his Daughter; that is, that the Princeſs ſhall have the liberty to exerciſe her Religion privately, and in the moſt retir'd Chamber of her Apartment. I own that theſe Conditions are ſtrict; but if* France *is in earneſt, I doubt not but she'll grant them.* 1612.

Henry underſtood the covetous Humor of his Father, for which cauſe he handled the Article of the Dowry in a more tender manner: *If your Majeſty*, continued he, *will have regard to the greatneſs of the Dowry, I believe you will prefer the Princeſs of* Savoy; *She has two hundred thouſand Crowns more than she of* France: *for, in fine, I can't induce my ſelf to believe that the Queen will give more to the younger than to the eldeſt Siſter. But if your Majeſty lay aſide Intereſt, and conſider what is moſt for the good of the general body of the Proteſtants abroad, methinks your Majeſty ſhould incline more for* France *than* Savoy. *In fine*, concludes the Prince, *I am afraid your Majeſty will not be pleas'd with the indifference I teſtifie in all Propoſals of Marriage that are made to me; I humbly ask your pardon for it. It is your part, Sir, to take what reſolution is moſt for the good of the State. I have but very little experience in politick affairs, and on this occaſion I cannot ſpeak as a Lover.* I have the more willingly inſerted this Letter, in regard it was, poſſibly, the laſt he wrote: It is dated *Octob.* 14. 1612. and the Prince died on the 16th of *November*.

The Death of the Pr. of Wales.

Having drank ſome ſmall Beer to cool himſelf, being very hot with riding, he fell again dangerouſly ill, and the violence of his Sickneſs could not be quell'd by all the Art of the moſt skilful Phyſicians. Heaven was deaf to the Vows of all *England*, for the Health of a young Prince of nineteen years of age, who was the Hope and Delight of the Nation. Thoſe who at firſt affected to teſtifie moſt Grief before his death, were not moſt afflicted at the bottom of their Heart, at leaſt it was ſo believ'd. The Grief of the

1612. People was more lively and more ſincere than that of the Court: *The Applauſes that we have given with ſo good will to the Prince of* Wales, ſaid they commonly, *have prov'd fatal to him: Thoſe who love to reign as abſolute Maſters, love not to have Children that are too popular: The Affection which the young* Henry *had to Religion and the Liberty of the Country, hath interrupted the courſe of a Life ſo happily begun. Charles* his Brother, and *Frederick* Elector Palatin, who was come to ſee the Princeſs of *England*, were the chief Mourners at his Funeral. The Tears of the People who accompanied him to the Tomb, by recounting the Virtues that already ſhined in his perſon, and deploring the irrecoverable loſs of *England*, were the greateſt Ornament of the Ceremony.

Wilſon's *Hiſtory of* Great Britain, 1611.

The Prohibition which the King his Father, a few days after, gave to appear in Mourning at the Court, redoubled the ſuſpicion and indignation of the Engliſh: poſſibly he was of the Opinion of a Roman Emperor, that the Majeſty of a Prince allow'd him not to mourn; that great Grief is only for private perſons; that Kings may die, but the State is immortal. Wherefore K. *James* did not think himſelf oblig'd to interrupt the uſual Divertiſements in the beginning of the new year. 'Tis reported, That *France* was not at all troubled to hear of the Death of the Prince of *Wales*, who ſeem'd rather to have the Inclinations of the ancient Kings of *England*, than thoſe of the Scottiſh Race. Thus they but very ill requited the generous Sentiments which that Prince teſtified on the death of K. *Henry* IV. *I have loſt my ſecond Father*, cry'd he. It is the common opinion, that young *Henry* had reſolv'd to withdraw from the Court of *England*, and to go to learn the Trade of War under the King of *France*, ſo ſoon as he ſhould march on the head of his Army.

Siri Mem. *recondite*, Tom. 2. p. 711.

French Memoirs, 1610

When

When the Prince of *Wales* deplor'd the tragical death of *Henry* IV, a certain Courtier ſaid to him, That this Accident would give his Highneſs the means to make good the pretenſions of the Kings of *England* in *France*. *Be gone thou cowardly Flatterer*, replied the Prince in anger, *have you the boldneſs to ſpeak to me of making War with an Infant? I am ready to defend him againſt all who would aſſault him.* The Son of him for whom the Prince of *Wales* had ſo noble Sentiments, had not ſo nice a Generoſity, tho' of a much more advanced age. 1612.

The Fortune of Robert Carr in England.

I know not if the Jealouſie which the Engliſh entertain'd of young Prince *Henry*'s Death were well grounded: if it was haſten'd, as the Phyſicians reported, the Viſcount of *Rocheſter* was likely enough to have been the Author of ſo atrocious a Crime; his Wife and himſelf were both afterward condemn'd as guilty of poyſoning. The Prince never lov'd this Favourite of his Father, he lookt down upon him, and teſtified a repugnancy to ſuffer him in his preſence. *Robert Carr*, a Gentleman of a mean extract in *Scotland*, having made ſhift to be admitted Page to the King, his agreable Countenance, delicate Shape, engaging Behaviour, did extreamly pleaſe him: In a little time he was made a Knight; and the King, being out of conceit with my Lord *Montgomery*, beſtowed all his Affection upon the Scotch Knight: then he raiſed him to the Dignity of Viſcount of *Rocheſter*, and afterwards to that of the Earl of *Sommerſet*. The Fall of this worthleſs Favourite was as ſhameful as his Riſing was ſtrange. In fine, he fell in love with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, who wanted to engage him, and afterwards married her. This is not a proper place for recounting the Adventures of that Lady. 'Tis ſaid, that the Prince of *Wales* was charm'd by her wonderful Beauty, but *Rocheſter* was prefer'd. The Prince's Anger, occaſioned by the preference, inflamed the Averſion he was formerly poſſeſs'd with againſt his Rival. The Counteſs

having

1612. having dropt her glove at a Dance, he that lifted it, brought it to the Prince of *Wales*; thinking to oblige him, by affording the occaſion to ſhew his civility to a Lady that he ſeem'd to love. *Henry* rejected the glove with diſdain. Another, ſays he, had his hand there before me. Since the two lovers were well vers'd in the art of poyſoning, 'tis probable they might have a mind to be rid of a Prince who would be a great Obſticle to their repoſe, and the eſtabliſhment of their Fortune.

The Death of Count Soiſſons. *Memoires of the Reg. of* Mary *de* Med.

Count *Soiſſons* died ſome days before the Prince of *Wales*. He left ſome fair dignities vacant; namely, the Governments of *Dauphiny* and *Normandy*, together with the place of Maſter of the Houſehold. This laſt was given by the Regent to the new Count his Son, together with the Government of *Dauphiny*. She had a mind to reſerve that of *Normandy* for her ſelf, deſigning to ſubſtitute a Lieutenant General. But the Prince of *Conti* asked one of his Brother's two Governments; and there was a neceſſity of giving him ſatisfaction. His demand ſeem'd very reaſonable, becauſe he had formerly reſigned the Government of *Dauphiny* to the Count. In order to ſatisfie him, and withal the *Guiſes*, whoſe Siſter was married to the Prince, a propoſal was made to *Charles de Valois* natural Son to *Charles* the IX. then Count *d' Auvergne*, but afterwards to be ſtil'd Duke of *Angouleme*; 'twas propos'd, I ſay, to him, that he ſhould reſign his Government of *Auvergne*. *Henry* IV. had put him up in the *Baſtile*, as being concern'd in a Conſpiracy; and the Regent kept him there ſtill. The Marquis of *Coeuvers* was employed to diſcourſe him upon the head. The Duke of *Angouleme* longed for his liberty; and in order to obtain it accepted of the propoſal. By this means the Prince of *Conti* was made Governour of *Auvergne*.

The new face of the Court of France.

Count *Soiſſons* had vaſt deſigns in his Head, when he died. 'Tis ſaid, that he had made a ſtrict Alliance with *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, the D. of *Savoy* and the Proteſtant

teſtant party. When the Duke of *Rohan* perceived him diſatisfied with the Regent and her Miniſters, he ſent to offer him his ſervice. The reaſon why he ſolicited ſo earneſtly for the Government of *Quillebeuf*, was that he might be in a condition to give entrance to the Supplies he had projected to come from *England* and *Holland*. His moſt paſſionate deſire was to remove the Miniſters of State, and humble the Faction of the *Guiſes* and *Epernon*. He would have had the pleaſure of ſeeing his wiſhes accompliſhed, had not death taken him off *Nov.* 1. The Marquis and Marchioneſs of *Ancre* had ſpoke ſo much againſt the Miniſters, eſpecially *Silleri*, to the Regent, that ſhe began to keep 'em at a diſtance. *Galigai* had the inſolence to ſpeak a thouſand affrontive things to the Chancellor, in the Queen's preſence: and to upbraid him with the Mal-adminiſtration of his employment. The Regent ſuffered her confident to ſay what he would, and poor *Silleri* durſt not reply a word. He was afraid the Queen ſhould have back'd the reproaches, which perhaps were too well grounded. The Marchioneſs of *Ancre*, being aſſur'd of the Regent's favour, ſpoke with a confidence capable to put the boldeſt Man out of countenance. But 'tis the maxim of ſelfiſh Courtiers not to be diſcouraged, nor to give up their pretenſions 'till the laſt extremity. The Chancellor entred the Queen's Cloſet with the other Miniſters: but there he receiv'd a new mortification. Her Majeſty turn'd her back upon him, pretending to ſpeak very intimately to Preſident *Jeannin*. 1612.

A new party was then formed at Court, which got the aſcendant, and defeated all the reſt; 'twas headed by the Prince of *Conde*. The Dukes of *Nevers*, *Mayenne*, and *Longueville*; the Marſhal *Bouillon* and the Marquis of *Ancre*, were all engaged in it. The *Guiſes*, *Epernon*, *Amvil*, and their friends were forced to give way. The Duke of *Amville* was brother to Conſtable *Montmorenci*, who was then gone to his Government in *Languedock*: in whoſe abſence he joyned in with the

1612. the *Guiſes*, thinking them moſt in the Regents favour. *Bellegarde* the King's Maſter of Horſe, one of the ſame Faction, was then in *Burgundy*, in the quality of Governour. He was called immediately to Court. *Bellgarde* came the more willingly that the Duke of *Guiſe* deſired him to aſſiſt him. As he came to *Sens*, he had notice that the Queen only called him up to take his Government from him. Whereupon he returned immediately. The Marquis of *Ancre* his Enemy had formed the intrigue, to get *Burgundy* to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

A Book writ by Becan *the Jeſuit, condemned.*

French Memoires 1612.

The *Sorbonne* was yet more in a ferment, than the Court. The Jeſuits then wrote invectives againſt the lawful Authority of Sovereigns, and every day publiſhed new Books upon that Subject, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the proud *Borgheſe*. *Becan* a famous Author of that Society printed a Book this year entituled, *The Controverſie of* England *concerning the Authority of the King and Pope*. Doctor *Fileſac* the new Syndick to the Faculty of *Paris* run it over, and ſpoke to Cardidal *Bonzi* to know if the Regent thought fit that the *Sorbonne* ſhould cenſure ſo pernicious a Book. The Nuncio and the Jeſuits equally indeavoured to parry the blow. *Ubaldini* ſaw very well that the Faculty in their Cenſure would not fail to give the Pope's Authority a Rub. The good Fathers were afraid, leaſt a new Decree of the Faculty of *Paris*, publiſh'd throughout *France*, ſhould confirm the common opinion, that the Society teaches a Doctrine contrary to the Authority of Kings, and ſecurity of their perſons. But *Becan*'s propoſitions were ſo ſtaring, that it was convenient to ſatisfie the world by a condemnation. In order to which the Nuncio and Jeſuits fell upon this expedient. They told the Regent that 'twas more proper that ſort of Books were condemned at *Rome*; and that a cenſure derived from the Holy See had more authority than that of the Faculty of *Paris*. *Mary de Medicis* was eaſily catch'd in the ſnare. She told

told Cardinal *Bonzi* to give the Syndick to know that ſhe had a deſign to have that Book condemn'd by the Pope, and therefore prohibited the *Sorbonne* to proceed upon it. The Court of *Rome* and the good Fathers were very well ſatisfied with the project. If the *Sorbone* forbear to cry out againſt it, there was a ſtop put to the examination of the Book. And put the caſe as ye will, the Inquiſition condemns only a Book in General terms, without particulariſing, ſo that the people do not know particularly where the condemnation is grounded; and the exorbitant poſitions of the Papal Authority take ſhelter under the general terms. For it may well be ſuppoſed the Inquiſition would never mean to condemn them. 1612.

One Dr. *Paris* preſented to the *Sorbonne* on the 1*ſt* of *Decemb.* an abſtract of ſome propoſitions out of *Becan*'s Book, authoriſing the Aſſaſſination of Kings and Princes, and containing ſeveral things contrary to Divine and Humane Laws. *Fileſac* the Syndick repeated what Cardinal *Bonzi* had told him of the Queen's intentions. Dr. *Paris* was ſtop'd by this anſwer, and contented himſelf with requeſting that his propoſal ſhould be recorded, and a Copy of the Faculties concluſion deliver'd to him. Accordingly 'twas granted. In the beginning of the next year, the Faculty of *Paris* deputed four Doctors to repreſent to the Chancellor, that they were deſirous to give a publick teſtimony of their fidelity in ſerving the King, by cenſuring *Becan*'s Book; and to give the publick to know that it was not their fault, that ſo dangerous a Book was not formerly diſgraced. They added, that the Faculty beged leave to make their Remonſtrances to the Queen, upon an affair of ſo great importance. *Silleri* approved the zeal of the *Sorbonne*, and promiſed to introduce 'em to her Majeſty. Dr. *Fayet* their Speaker, told the Regent that the *Faculty* of *Paris* did not uſually receive the King's orders either by a particular meſſage, or in a ſealed Letter, but by Letters under

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1612. the Great Seal. However, they had obeyed pursuant to what Cardinal *Bonzi* had told their Syndick of her Majesties intentions. But at the same time, Madam, added he, *the Faculty thought they should receive your orders from your own mouth. If your Majesty does not think it proper that we should go on to examine* Becan's *Book, we do most humbly petition that your Majesty would take care, that our silence upon this occasion be not interpreted as a tacit approbation of these pernicious sentiments, which rob Kings of their lawful authority, and countenance the Assassination of their persons.* The Regent answered she would discourse her Council upon that Subject, and the Chancellor should give the Faculty to know her mind.

Dr. *Fayet* went some days after to the Chancellors house, and received this answer from *Silleri. The Queen*, says he, *is informed that* Becan's *wicked Book becomes too common.* Her Majesty allows you to do in it what you think fit. 'Tis a great loss that the *Sorbonne* should be divided about good principles. Will ye never be united? *Fayet* answered the Chancellor, that the Faculty would preserve her ancient Doctrines, and that the *Sorbonne* always taught the same, till some people came in, and scattered their foreigh opinions among them. The Chancellor commended the Doctors for their zeal, and allowed them in the Regents name to sit upon the Censure of *Becan*'s Book. But *Ubaldini* handsomely put it by. Being convinced that something would be done in *France* against the Jesuits Book; he sollicited for the Inquisition's Decree, with all possible speed. As soon as he received it, he shew'd it to the Regent. She being always obedient to the Pope, sent word to the Faculty, that it was enough if they read the Decree publickly in the *Sorbonne*. One would be surprised to see the name of *Robert Bellarmin* among those who condemned the Book of an Author that followed *Bellarmin*'s own principles: were it not that we know the Cardinal was bred up in the Society, and was well equip'd with equivocations

and

and mental reſervations, to help him out in condemning with a ſafe Conſcience the ſame propopoſitions in his Brother's Book, that he himſelf look'd upon as the moſt Orthodox in the World. 1612.

The Jeſuits were not the only men that courted the favour of *Paul* V. in writing againſt K. *James* I. of *England*, upon the Authority of Sovereigns and the Holy See. *Gaſpar Scioppius*, a moſt violent Enemy to the Society, had likewiſe a mind to enter the Liſts, and diſplay his fine Latin upon the famous diſpute. His Book was brought from the fair of *Francfort* to *Paris*, and laid before the Parliament. In that Book *Scioppius* ſpoke of *Henry* as a Man of no Religion. He ſeem'd to approve the action of the infamous *Ravaillac*. All Kings and Sovereigns that ſuffered Hereticks to live peaceably in their Countries, were, by his Judgment, Hereticks themſelves, nay, Turks and Atheiſts. I do not wonder that the Book was burnt in *England*: But methinks 'tis ſtrange, that the King of *Great Britain* ſhould have ſuffered the repreſentation of a Farce before him, in which *Scioppius* was expos'd and hang'd upon the Theatre. A revenge equally unworthy of a Prince, and an Author. Had the King looked upon *Scioppius* his Book as the Libel of a wretched declamer, ſhould not he have deſpiſed it; or, at moſt contented himſelf with leaving the execution of the Laws againſt defamatory and pernicious Libels to the Magiſtrates? But to take pleaſure in revenging himſelf upon an Author, in a manner ſo unſuitable to a Crown'd head; that was a ſhrewd evidence to the publick, that the Book had nettled him whom it attacked.

A Decree of the Parl. of Paris *againſt a Book writ by* Scioppius.

Bayle *Dict. Hiſt. & Cil.*

The buſineſs he was then engag'd in of reconciling the King of *Denmark* to *Guſtavus Adolphus*, the new King of *Sweden*, was an employment much more worthy of a Prince. *Chriſtian* IV. endeavour'd this year to carry on his Conqueſts in *Sweden*. Being accompanied by *George* Duke of *Lunenbourg*, who came with aſſiſtance to him, he

1612. Puſſend. *Introd. to Hiſt. tom. 4. c. 3.* French Mer. 1612.

he advanc'd to *Jenkoping*, laying all the Country deſo'ate as he paſs'd along. The young *Guſtavus* had already given ſuch ſhining proof of his Wiſdom and Valour, that *Queen Chriſtine*, his Mother, left him the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, tho' he was not yet 18 years of Age. He put a ſtop to his Enemy's Conqueſts; and obliged him to retire to the Province of *Schonen*. *Guſtavus* purſued him, and by way of repriſal, put all to Fire and Sword. The *Swediſh* Army ſuffer'd ſome diſadvantage upon their retreat. The King of *Denmark* made a new irruption into Eaſt-*Gothland*. He went likewiſe on board of his Fleet, and endeavour'd to come up to *Stockholm*. *Guſtavus* diſappointed him in all his deſigns, with an extraordinary Conduct and Courage. At laſt the Hanſe Towns and United Provinces being troubled, becauſe the War between the two Northern Crowns, ſpoiled the Commerce of the Baltick Sea, engaged the King of *England* to interpoſe for Peace. *Chriſtian* himſelf treated with four *Swediſh* Counſellors. After ſome Conferences held in the latter end of this year, the Treaty was concluded the beginning of the next. *Denmark* return'd to *Sweden* the Town of *Calmar*, and the Iſland of *Oeland*. *Elsbourg* he kept for a time, till the Crown of *Sweden* ſhould pay him a certain ſum of Money, which he claimed as a debt.

The Revolutions of Muſcovy.

Guſtavus was willing to make any Conceſſions on that ſcore, that he might be in a condition to advance towards *Muſcovy*. There was a puiſſant Party there, that deſired he would ſend P. *Charles Philip* his Brother, in order, as they pretended, to be ſet upon their Throne. Tho' the Affairs of *Muſcovy* ſeem to have no relation to *France*, yet, I think, I ought to ſay ſomething of the ſurpriſing Revolutions that happen'd there in the beginning of the 17th. Century. This will furniſh us with a more particular account of the Affairs of *Europe* in the time of *Lewis* XIII.

French Merc. 1605.

The Czar *John Baſilovits*, is ſufficiently known by his Cruelties, and by the War which the brave

brave *Steven Battori*, King of *Poland*, carried on against him with ſo much glory and advantage, that the *Muſcovite* was obliged to have recourſe to the Pope's interceſſion for Peace. *Baſilovits* left only two Sons, namely, *Theodore* and *Demetrius*, of all his ſeven Wives. The Eldeſt, a ſtupid and heartleſs Prince, ſucceeded him. While he diverted himſelf by ringing the Bells of Churches, *Boris Federovits*, a *Muſcovite* Lord married to his Siſter, governed the State. That Ambitious Wicked Man cauſed young *Demetrius* to be kill'd, who liv'd with his Mother in a Caſtle remote from *Muſcow*; and in order to conceal his Crime, cauſed the Man to be Aſſaſſinated, whom he had employed in the ſame. Soon after the Czar *Theodore* died. 'Twas believed that *Boris* had poiſon'd him. Thus the new Line of the Ancient Czars was at an end, and 'twas no difficult matter for *Boris*, the late Czar's Brother-in-Law, to mount the Throne. Being as cunning as he was cruel, he took care to gain the Affections of the People, and to find out fair pretences for removing the Lords that could withſtand his Ambition. By this means he got himſelf formally Crown'd at *Muſcow*. His Bloody and Jealous temper quickly rendered him odious to the *Muſcovites*. A Nation accuſtomed to Slavery, will not endure ſo patiently the Tyranny of a Prince newly raiſed to a Throne, as that of one eſtabliſhed by a long ſucceſſion in the ſame Family. 1612

A ſpurius Demetrius in Poland.

In the year 1604, *Boris* received news from *Poland* that diſturb'd him much. A *Ruſſia* Monk had carried a young Man thither, whoſe Stature and Face reſembled Prince *Demetrius*, whom *Boris* had cauſed to be killed. The Monk put his Boy to ſerve *Vietſnoviski*, a *Poliſh* Lord, who had married a Daughter of the Palatin of *Sendomir* from that Houſe he went to that of the Palatin himſelf. When the Monk ſaw things ripe, he told, by way of ſecret, to the Palatin, that the young man was *Demetrius*, Lawful Heir to the Empire of *Ruſſia*, that he had luckily ſav'd him from the cruelty of

1612. *Boris*, by ſubſtituting another Child in the room of the Prince, whom he had order'd to be made away. The ſtory was related with ſuch likely Circumſtances, that the Palatin believed every word they ſaid. He quickly diſcover'd the ſecret to *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland*, who deſired to ſee the pretended *Demetrius*.

The young Man wanted neither Spirit nor Education; he recounted the misfortunes of his Life in the King's preſence, with a great deal of Addreſs, and a good Grace. He ſhew'd ſome natural marks in his Face, and one in his Hands, which, he pretended, were unconteſted proofs of his genuine Birth. Then addreſſing himſelf to *Sigiſmond*, 'I am very happy, Sir, *ſaid he*, in 'falling into the hands of a King, who was miſ-'fortunate himſelf, and perſecuted by his own Un-'cle in his Infancy, and by conſequence ſhould 'have more Compaſſion upon my diſgrace. Your 'Majeſty was born in a Priſon, where cruel *Eric* 'had ſhut up your Father and Mother. The '*Poles* have choſen you, from among all the 'Princes of *Europe*. This diſtinction, Sir, 'ought to enlarge the reſpect of the *Swedes*, 'your natural Subjects. Another Ambitious Un-'cle ſtirs them up againſt you, and endeavours to 'diſpoſſeſs you of your Patrimony: Thanks be to 'God, your Majeſty has yet power enough to aſ-'ſiſt me in recovering mine. When you, Sir, 'ſhall have put me into a condition to acknow-'ledge ſo great a favour, the *Poles* and *Muſcovites* 'together will quickly reduce the rebellious *Swedes*. 'Heavens grant that after that happy expedition, 'we may juſtly attack the common Enemy of '*Chriſtendom*. If King *Sigiſmund* did not believe what was told him, at leaſt he expected that the ſtory, whether true or falſe, might be ſerviceable to him againſt the *Muſcovites*. He reſolved to aſſiſt the pretended *Demetrius*, and to ſend him to *Lithuania*, to be near *Muſcovy*: From thence *Demetrius* wrote to the Pope, deſiring his good offices in *Poland*. The Court of *Rome* being al-

ways

ways heedful of any thing, that may extend her Dominions, willingly gave ear to a Man, that gave them hopes of reducing *Ruſſia* to obedience to the Holy See. 1612.

Preſently a noiſie report runs all over *Muſcovy*, that *Demetrius* having eſcap'd the fury of the Tyrant *Boris*, appear'd near their Frontiers. The Malecontents, and lovers of Novelty, encouraged the Diſcourſe. The common People, which is credulous of extraordinary things, and always apt to flatter themſelves with a ſofter and more agreeable Government, ſeemed impatiently to look for *Demetrius*. *Boris* was informed of what paſſed in *Poland*, and what ſtir was beginning in *Muſcovy*. He did not know what to do, whether to deſpiſe the ſtory, as being a Fable coined at pleaſure, which would quickly die; or to prepare in earneſt to repreſs a party that grew ſtronger every day, both at home and abroad. At length being convinc'd that 'twas not a time to be idle, he gave out, that the pretended *Demetrius* was a known Magician: He gave orders for the ſecurity of his Frontiers, and ſent Ambaſſadors to the Diet at *Warſaw*, with orders to complain to the King and Republick of their counter-acting the terms of Peace, concluded between the two States, and appearing to back the impoſture of a wretched Son of a Prieſt; and to deſire he ſhould be delivered up, dead or alive. In caſe the Ambaſſadors did not receive a favourable Anſwer, *Boris* ordered them to Negotiate with ſome *Poliſh* Lords, to engage them in oppoſing the King's deſigns. *Sigiſmond* anſwer'd the *Muſcovites* in general terms, and, at the ſame time, prepared under-hand to ſupport the pretended Heir of the Ancient Czars.

Demetrius *enters* Muſcovy, *and is there Crowned.*

Demetrius entered *Muſcovy* at the head of an Army of 10000 *Poles* and *Coſſacks*. The Palatin *Sendomir* commanded under him. But he and *Demetrius* neglected a fair opportunity of routing the *Muſcovite* Army, and were defeated themſelves in the beginning of the year 1605. After that *Demetrius* being too weak to keep the field,

1612. ſhut himſelf up in a Town he had taken before. He hop'd to get freſh recruits from *Poland*, before his Enemies could retake the places he had ſeized. In the interim *Boris* dies. His death alters the face of Affairs mightily: Though the *Muſcovite* Army ſwore an Oath of Fidelity to his Son, diviſions prevailed among them ſoon after. Some Lords declared openly for the pretended *Demetrius*, and every body followed their Example. The Son and Widow of *Boris* are taken and ſtifled. At laſt the new Czar is received and crowned at *Muſcow*, the laſt day of *July* 1605. Afterwards *Demetrius* by proxy married the Daughter of the Palatin of *Sendomir*, and the next year ſhe was introduced in great ſplendor to *Muſcow*. Her Father, her neareſt Relations, and ſeveral other Lords, accompanied her, and aſſiſted at the ſolemnity of her Marriage and Coronation.

French Merc. 1606.

The new Princeſs did not enjoy her good fortune long. *Suski*, a *Moſcovite* Lord, to whom *Demetrius* had given a pardon for his Life, contrary to the advice of ſeveral Perſons about him, who advis'd him to ſuffer Juſtice to be executed upon a turbulent and Ambitious Man, whoſe Fidelity he could never truſt to; This *Suski*, I ſay, with ſome other *Muſcovite* Lords, had already formed a Conſpiracy againſt *Demetrius*. They render'd him odious to the Clergy and People, by giving out, that he deſigned an alteration of Religion, by ſubjecting *Muſcovy* to the Pope, and bringing into the Kingdom Jeſuits and Roman Prieſts. And foraſmuch as the People fancied, that Heaven would not have favoured him ſo much, had he been an Impoſtor, They therefore dropt the notion of his ſucceeding againſt *Boris*, and his Sons, by virtue of Magick. Their diſcourſe made ſo much the more impreſſion upon the People, that they were obliged by his keeping two or three Companies of Strangers to guard his Palace and Perſon. The natural averſion of the *Muſcovites* to the *Poles*, encouraged the information they had carefully ſtarted, that the

Czars

Czars Treaſure was to be Tranſported into *Poland*, and that hereafter the State would be governed by a *Poliſh* Princeſs, and ſome other Confidents of that Nation. *Suski* and the heads of the Conſpiracy, by improving theſe grudges in the Peoples breaſts, made an inſurrection at *Muſcow*, the 27th. of *May*, 1606. He came to the Palace at the head of a great number of armed Men, forced it open, killed the pretended *Demetrius*, he being betrayed by his beſt Friends, and put a thouſand indignities upon his Corps. Then the People fell upon all the *Poles*: By report above 1700. of them were killed. Only the Palatin of *Sendomir*, his Daughter, his Son, and ſome *Poliſh* Lords were ſav d, and put up ſeparately in particular Apartments. 1612.

Suski was Elected and Crowned King in the room of *Demetrius*, whether pretended, or true: Indeed ſome ſay he ſpoke the truth. But the Circumſtances of the Man, conducting him to *Poland*, and of his going into ſervice in two different Families, increaſe the ſuſpicion of the ſtory. One would think a Child of that quality ſhould have been carried ſtraight to the King of *Poland*. What was there to fear? However, to confirm the opinion of the Impoſture, *Suski* ordered the Corps of him whom *Boris* had killed, to be taken up. His bones were tranſported to *Muskow*, and the Patriarch ordered, that the People ſhould reverence him as a Martyr. *Suski* did not doubt but the *Poles* would declare War againſt him, and therefore enter'd into a Negotiation with the Duke of *Sudermania*, the new King of *Poland*, who ſent him ſupplies under the Conduct of *Gardie*. But the differences between *Sigiſmond* and the Palatines of the Kingdom, did not allow him to be ſo early in attacking the *Muſcovites*. In the year 1609. he reſolved to retake the Town of *Smolensko*, which the *Muſcovites* had taken from the *Poles*. The place was block'd up for 2 years, and above 200000 Inhabitants died before it was ſurrender'd. The *Muſcovites* gave

Suski *is made Czar of Muſcovy, and afterwards reſigns the Crown.*

Sweden

1612. them Battle often, in order to raiſe the Siege, *Suski* was ſo fretted at the bad ſucceſs of his Arms that he quitted his Scepter and Crown, and retir'd to a Monaſtery.

Muſcovy, at that time, was divided into three party's. A new *Demetrius* ſtarted up, and many declar'd for him. Others thought to remedy the bad State of *Moſcovy*, by putting upon the Throne *Ladiſlaus*, a very hopeful Prince, the eldeſt Son of King *Sigiſmond*. Inſine, a third part would ſet up a great Lord of their own Country. But this laſt party reunited with that for *Ladiſlaus*, ſo that he was choſen *Czar* in his abſence, in the year 1610. and the moſt conſiderable part of the Clergy and Nobility ſwore an Oath of Fidelity to him. The falſe *Demetrius* indeavour'd to make himſelf Maſter of *Moſcow*: But the *Poles* defeated him twice, and oblig'd him to retire beyond the *Volga*. This made the *Poles* capable to undertake any thing. They made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle of *Moſcow*, and gave King *Sigiſmond*, then ſtill before *Smolensko*, to know, that his Son was proclaimed Czar. The Inhabitants of *Smolensko* offer'd to ſurrender themſelves to Prince *Ladiſlaus* the elected Sovereign of their Country. But *Sigiſmond* had a mind to have that place for *Poland*. The Inhabitants reſolved they would not be parted from *Moſcovy*, and held out till the end of *June* 1611. So that *Sigiſmond* got only a Town almoſt unpeopled, and reduc'd to aſhes. The King of *Poland* did not ſo much mind the eſtabliſhing his Son in the Throne of *Moſcovy*, as improving their diviſions, and ſubduing the Country. And ſtaid too long before he conducted *Ladiſlaus* to *Moſcovy*. That affair he put off till the year 1612. But the continual conteſts he had with the Palatins did not ſuffer him to execute his project.

The Poles expell'd Muſcovy and Michael Federovits choſen Czar.

This delay gave, to the relations of *Boris* the late Czar, an opportunity to form a puiſſant party. *Michael Federovits* went at the head of it to *Moſcow*. The Poliſh General came out of the Town, drew

up

up his Troops, and gave battle to the Muſcovites that had revoulted from *Ladiſlaus*. The Poles were routed, and their General retired towards *Smolensko*, with the ſcattered remnants of his Army. After that, 'twas an eaſie matter to beat the Poles out of the Caſtle of *Moſcow*. The Moſcovites having delivered themſelves from a foreign Dominion, choſe a new Czar in the year 1612, namely, *Michael Federovits*, a near relation to *Boris* the late Czar. There was a new Party for *Philip* the brother of *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, which might have thwarted the Election, had not *Guſtavus* loſt the opportunity, by minding the enlargement of his own Dominions, more than the ſettlement of his brother. The Moſcovites had time to unite together. The new Czar having removed all grounds of fear at home, reſolves to be revenged of the Poles. In the year following he beſieg'd *Smolensko*, and the Town being ſorrily defended, was quickly taken. The Poles were at that time ſo divided that they were not in a condition to prevent the retaking of all that *Poland* had ſeiz'd; and the enemy's carrying his Conqueſts farther in *Lithuania*. 1612.

BOOK III.

THE HISTORY Of the Reign of LEWIS XIII. King of *France* & *Navarre*.

BOOK IV.

FRance was almoſt in as great perplexity as *Poland*. The Civil War was not yet broke out, yet the number of Malcontents was ſo great, and the Factions increaſed ſo much every day, that every thing ſeem'd to threaten an open rupture. The Baron *de Luz*, Knight of the Royal Orders, and Lieutenant General of *Burgundy*, was killed at *Paris*, the 5 of *January* 1613. by Mr. de *Guiſe*. His death occaſioned many troubles to the Regent. 1613. *The Baron of* Luz *killed by Chevalier de* Guiſe.

Luz

1613. *Luz* acted ſeveral parts in his lifetime. He had joyn'd in with ſeveral parties, and engag'd in various intrigues. In the reign of the late King, he was one of the Confidents of Marſhal *Biron*. In the beginning of this reign he carried on intrigues with the *Guiſes*; but afterwards quitted them, and fell in with *Conchini*, by whoſe favour he thought to riſe. 'Twas ſuſpected that he ſerved that *Italian* in his deſign of undoing *Bellegarde*, and turning him out of the Government of *Burgundy*. This inflam'd the hatred of the Houſe of *Guiſe* againſt him, who were friends and related to *Bellegarde*. That family wanted only an occaſion of being reveng'd in ruining a man, that did not only forſake their party, but carried on intrigues to annoy them with all his might. The Baron *de Luz* ſpoke ſome uncivil words to Mr. *de Guiſe*, which *Guiſe* took for a ſufficient reaſon to fight. The Baron had raſhly glory'd in his being preſent at *Blois*, with the Marſhal *Briſſac*, in the Chamber where King *Henry* III. took up the reſolution to kill the Duke of *Guiſe*, and in his having hindered *Briſſac* to give the Duke notice of the deſign form'd againſt him. This was provocation enough to Mr. *de Guiſe* to be revenged on the enemy of his Family, that boaſted of promoting the death of his Father, by hindring *Briſſac* to ſave his life. Mr. *de Guiſe* meets the Baron in the ſtreet of St. *Honore*; obliges him to draw his Sword, and at the ſecond thruſt kills him.

French Mercury 1613. *Siri mem. Rec. tom.* 3. *p.* 23.

The Regent angry with the Guiſes.

The Regent who had been well ſerved by the Baron *de Luz*, was mightily incenſed at the interpriſe. She believ'd 'twas rather deſigned to vex her, than to revenge the death of the late Duke. So ſoon as ſhe received the news of his death, ſhe roſe from dinner, threw down the napkin upon the table, and with tears in her eyes retired to her Chamber. Immediately ſhe ſent for the Princes and Miniſters to conſult upon this affair, which ſhe took ſo much to heart.

Memoirs de Baſſompierre.

'Twas

'Twas resolved, that the Parliament should make an information upon the matter, that the murderer should immediately be prosecuted, and that some body should be sent from her Majesty to *Guise*'s House, to command the Nobility there assembled to disperse immediately, and to prohibit the Duke to be seen in the *Louvre*, till the Queen ordered it. 'Tws said that *Guise* had a mind to come thither accompanied by a great number of Gentlemen. Some refused to go out of *Guise* House, notwithstanding the Duke pray'd them to obey the Regents orders. Of all that were there, Count *Rochfoucault* Master of the King's Wardrope signaliz'd himself most. He flatly refus'd to be gone. The Queen was offended at his disobedience, and sent him orders to depart the Court immediately. 1613.

Mary de Medicis relented a little, when she heard that the Duke of *Guise* had sent his brother away to the Country. *Bassompierre* was a friend to the *Guises* by reason of their Sister the Princess of *Conti*, whom he respected, and with whom he had more than an ordinary interest. He took occasion to acquaint the Regent, that the Duke beg'd her Majesties leave to come and justifie himself. She gave him leave, providing he came towards night, and without any retinue. *Bassompierre* went immediately for him. The Duke spoke so respectfully and submissively to the Queen, that she seemed to be appeas'd: But the Dutchess his Mother spoil'd all when she went to visit the Queen. She spoke to the Queen with so proud and lofty an air, that her Majesty was more incens'd against the *Guise*'s than before.

The Duke was enrag'd against the Faction of the Prince of *Conde*, which had oppos'd him: and he could not endure his Cousin the Duke of *Mayenne*, for joyning with it, whom the Duke of *Guise* accompanied with his friends had certainly assaulted, had not the Duke of *Espernon* stoped him from an enterprise, which would undoubtedly have been very bloody, *Mayenne* being always pretty well guarded. The Queen having notice of this, ordred

Siri Memoires recondite tom. 3.

1610. dred the Duke of *Mayenne* to go to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and be reconcil'd to the Head of his Family. They had a very long Conference, and parted ſeemingly good friends.

The Duke of Guiſe *is willing to joyn with the Prince of* Conde.

It is not improbable, that it was the Duke of *Mayenne*, who perſwaded the Duke of *Guiſe*, incenſed at the Queen for refuſing to call back the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, to joyn himſelf to the Prince of *Conde*, in the deſign to remove the Miniſters of State, who had already loſt their Credit. The Marquis of *Ancre* had ſo great a deſire, to draw the Duke of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon*, into the new Faction which prevailed at Court, that being deſir'd by *Guiſe* to obtain from the Queen leave for the Count of *Rochefoucault* to return to Court, that crafty *Italian* anſwered, that the Prince of *Conde* was the fiteſt perſon to accompliſh his deſign. But be this as it will, *Guiſe* was reſolved to joyn with the Prince of *Conde*. *The Prince*, ſaid he, *is as it were the Rod, with which the Queen deſigns to chaſtiſe me: but I know how to prevent it.* The agreement was well nigh concluded, and the Duke of *Epernon* was altogether inclined to enter alſo into the ſame party.

Memoirs of Baſſompierre.

The Prince of Conde *becomes ſuſpected by the Queen.*

Conde being well pleaſed to have drawn the Dukes of *Guiſe* from the Queen, believed himſelf henceforth Maſter of all. He could not perſwade himſelf, that the Queen durſt now deny him the Government of *Chateau-Trompette*, which he deſired, to the end that the Cittadel of the chief City of his Government of *Guienne* might alſo be in his power. He reſolves therefore to demand it, by the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Mayenne*, and the Marquis of *Ancre*. The Marſhal *Bouillon* ſhould alſo have been with him: but he excuſed himſelf, becauſe of the Gout, whether fained or true I know not. It was the cuſtom of that cunning States-man to form Factions, but not engage too far himſelf. He ſtirred up troubles to the Queen, that he might afterwards be courted, and hired to defeat the Plot himſelf had ſurely laid.

The

The Queen ſurpris'd at the demand made by the three Lords, in behalf of the Prince, feared with reaſon, leaſt they ſhould ſnatch her Authority from her, and govern themſelves, leaving only to her the empty title of Regent. Wherefore, ſhe now bethinks her ſelf, that the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon*, were not yet ſo ſtrictly united with the Prince of *Conde*, but that ſhe might eaſily withdraw them, and reſolves in earneſt to agree with the great Lords, that could only aſſiſt her to defeat the projects of the firſt Prince of the Blood. 1613.

Her Majeſty, after having coldly anſwered that ſhe would think upon what they had propoſed, withdrew to her Cloſet, to ſhun the renew'd importunity of theſe Lords, for a poſitive anſwer: and perceiving that they followed her thither, with a deſign yet to urge her, *I have diſcovered*, ſaid ſhe, to turn off that diſcourſe, *an intrigue of* Baſſompierre's. *He does not apprehend that I know it: but he will be much troubled, when he comes to underſtand that I have been told it all.* This was but a pretence to ſpeak to that Gentleman, who was zealous for the Houſe of *Guiſe*. The Duke of *Nevers*, ſuſpecting nothing, made a ſign to *Baſſompierre*, to come near, becauſe the Queen had ſomething to tell him. *No, no*, continued the diſſembling Princeſs, *I will diſcover nothing to him. Baſſompierre* being uneaſie, as men of intrigues are on the like occaſions, begins earneſtly to pray the Queen to tell him what ſhe knew. Then faining to yield, ſhe retires towards a Window, to ſpeak with him apart.

It is not a matter of Love, ſaid ſhe; *I call you only to ask you, if the Duke of* Guiſe *thinks any more of the return of* Rochefoucault. *Madam*, anſwered he, *the Duke has ſaid nothing of it to me theſe three days, and has alſo wiſhed me not to ſpeak any more of it to your Majeſty. I perceive he reſolves to agree with the Prince, and by his means to obtain the recalling of* Rochefoucault: *and he hopes, Madam, that your Majeſty will not take it ill that he joyns himſelf to the Prince: ſeeing the*

Mar-

1613. *Marquiſs of* Ancre *your Creature has ſet him an example.* The Queen, out of vexation, darted, ſo to ſpeak, four or five tears at *Baſſompierre*, and turning to the Window that they might not ſee her weep: *Ah* Baſſompierre, ſays ſhe, *ſome ill minded people have perſwaded me to diſpiſe the family of the* Guiſes, *and ſlight the Miniſters of the late King. Now that they ſee me without ſupport, they indeavour to ſink my Authority. The inſolent manner in which they have demanded the Goverment of* Chatteau Trumpette, *is ſufficient evidence of their projects. But I'll find a way to break their meaſures.* *Baſſompierre* could not have met with a fairer opportunity of ſerving the *Guiſes*, the D. of *Eſpernon*, and the Miniſters his friends. He aſſured her Majeſty, they ſhould all be for her when ſhe pleas'd. *At leaſt, Madam*, added he, *we may find ways for gaining them. Come to me after Dinner*, ſays the Queen: *In the mean time, I'll think of ſomewhat elſe.* *Mary* then parted with him, and ſat an hour at dinner, behaving her ſelf with as much freedom of mind, as if ſhe had been in the beſt humour in the world.

The paſſionate and intereſted humour of the Duke of Guiſe.

Baſſompierre pretending to depart with others, when the *Queen* ſat down to dinner, met with the Duke of *Guiſe*, in the Court of the *Louvre*. 'Well, *ſaid* Baſſompierre *to him*, and don't you 'think of recalling poor *Rochefoucault*; he will 'die with vexation, if he is obliged to ſpend all 'this time of Pleaſure and Diverſion at the Camp. 'Yes, *replied the D. with an oath*, he ſhall return; 'and I ſhall not be beholding to the *Q.* therefore. 'I have had all poſſible Zeal for her Service, and 'ſhe has nothing but Indifference for me. I have 'been conſtrained to find a new Maſter, which 'is the Prince of *Conde* and his Party. This I 'will adhere to, tho' I have joyned with it againſt 'my Inclination. I believe, Sir, *added the Duke*, 'you won't diſapprove what I have done; you are 'your ſelf of the ſame ſide.

'I

'I my Lord, *replied* Baſſompierre *laughing*, I 1613.
'am the ſervant of every man in the Cabal,
'but diſown them in the bulk as a Faction. I
'ſerve the King and Queen; but addict my ſelf
'to no body: And. let me tell you, my Lord,
'you take a very ill courſe. You were formerly
'the Head of a Faction, if ever there was any.
'You depended on none but the King and Queen,
'and had the preheminence over all others. But
'now you have given your ſelf up to ſuch as will
'give a thouſand Affronts and Diſpleaſures, when
'once they have ſecured you to their Party. And
'what will you do then? You, who could not
'endure a little indifferency, a ſmall refuſal from
'the *Queen*. You have juſt now killed the Ba-
'ron of *Luz*, and do you pretend at the ſame
'time to recall an Officer of the King, when the
'*Q.* might have ſent you to the Baſtile for bold-
'ly diſobeying the *Queens* Order to depart from
'your Houſe. The Duke of *Guiſe* was too much
yet tranſported with his paſſion, to make uſe of
this good advice: But he ſaid enough to let *Baſ-
ſompierre* underſtand that he regarded Intereſt
more than Honour. 'The *Queen*, *added he*, ſhall
'know one day that ſhe wrong'd her ſelf in loſing
'me to gratifie thoſe who tyranniſe over her. She
'ſhall ſeek after me, but I won't give ear to her,
'or at leaſt, it ſhall coſt her dear. What mean-
neſs of Spirit was this in one of a moſt noble Birth?
His generous Anger, his noble Pride was not
proof againſt an hundred thouſand Crowns, as
we ſhall ſee anon.

*The Gene-
roſity of
the Duke
of Eſper-
non.*

The Duke of *Eſpernon* was much Inferiour in
Birth to the Duke of *Guiſe*, but his ſentiments on
this occaſion were much more generous. *In affairs
of great Conſequence*, anſwer'd he to *Baſſompierre*,
adviſing him to ſlight the cauſes of complaint gi-
ven him by the *Queen*, *and in ſo important an
occaſion as this, I don't ſtand to ſeek for ſome tri-
fling ſhift. We ought to be determined in a noble
and free manner. I will not Parly with my Ma-
ſters. Should they offer me a Reward, I would look*

on

1613. *on it as an affront. What I ſhall do for the Queen, is already ſufficiently recompenc'd. I ſhould be unworthy of the Name I bear, and the Offices I poſſeſs, and were to be eſteemed the moſt ungratefull of Men, if I ſhould ſell my ſervice to my maſter. Baſſompierre* teſtified to the Duke that he would never forget what he heard him ſay at this time. Indeed theſe words deſerve to be well remembred and if there had not been more vanity than uprightneſs in the Duke's ſentiments, it might be averr'd to his Honour, that he had a ſpirit more noble than any Prince or Lord of *France*.

The Q. agrees with the Dukes of Guiſe *and* Eſpernon.

In the mean time *Baſſompierre* goes to the *Q.* after dinner, as ſhe had order'd, and ſo ſoon as they were alone, *My ſtomach is ſo turn'd*, ſays ſhe, *that I thought all I eat was poyſon, and if I am not ſuddenly delivered from this perplexity, I believe I ſhall looſe my Senſe.* She ſpoke poſſibly more truth than ſhe imagined. Thoſe who beſt knew this Princeſs, teſtifie, that ſhe was of a great Spirit, but ſhe had neither that extent of Thought, Conſtancy, nor Experience, which appeared in another *Queen* of her Houſe, under ſome former Reigns, which qualities were neceſſary to the right management of a State ſo full of Factions. *Baſſompierre*, added ſhe, *you muſt regain the Duke of* Guiſe *at any rate. Offer him ten thouſand Crowns in ready* Money, *the Lieutenancy General of* Provence *for his Brother, and the Reſervation of the Abbey of* St. Germain *for the Princeſs of* Conti, *his Siſter: And, in a word, I give you liberty to act as you think fit, providing you withdraw him from the Cabal, and aſſure us of his good intentions. Madam*, replied *Baſſompierre* ſmiling, *with ſo much money in hand, it is impoſſible to fail of ſtriking a bargain.*

This is the uſe was made of that rich Benefice, the Reſervation of the Abbey of St. *Germains*, in the Fields at *Paris*. The Prince of *Conti*, tho' Married, had poſſeſs'd it, and now it is promiſed to the Princeſs his Wife, in caſe he ſhould die before her. A ſtrange abuſe of the Church Poſ-

ſeſſions

seſſions: But the Pope's diſpenſation ſets all to rights. Let them not pretend that thoſe diſorders are now Reform'd. Have we not ſeen a younger Brother of the houſe of *Lorrain* in *France*, confirmed by a ſolemn Decree in the enjoyment of a Penſion out of a Biſhoprick, in regard the Pope had granted him a Diſpenſation to keep it, notwithſtanding his Marriage: And indeed, all things conſidered, ſeeing the Revenues of the Church are not employed for the relief of the poor, or other Pious uſes, they are as well beſtowed upon a Prince or Princeſs, as on ſome lazy Monk, a Cardinal or Abbot of Quality, who ſpends them in ſumptuous Equipages, a coſtly Table, feeding Horſes and Dogs, and maintaining Whores. But to return to *Baſſompierre*'s Negotiation. Before he took leave of the *Queen* to execute her Orders, he ſpoke to her of calling back the Duke of *Eſpernon*. *I would do it with all my heart*, ſaid ſhe, *but I have offended him, and he never forgives.* *Yes, verily, his Enemies*, reply'd *Baſſompierre* ſmiling, *but not his Maſters.* This good Princeſs did not ſufficiently know the Duke. He was not a good Chriſtian enough to pardon his Enemies; but he was too Ambitious not to forgive the *Queen*, providing ſhe would give him more Credit and Authority. *Tell the Queen*, ſaid he to *Baſſompierre*, *that I only pray her to be more conſtant for the future, and to eſteem more her faithful Servants.* *Baſſompierre*, in fine, propos'd to the *Queen* to recall the Miniſters of State; and offers to ſpeak to *Villeroy* and *Jeannin*. As for what concerned the Chancellor, ſhe behov'd to declare her mind to the Chevalier *Silleri* his Brother. 1613

The Count of Marſan.

It would be to little purpoſe to recount the particulars of *Baſſompierre*'s Negotiation. He had ſo advantageous conditions to offer, that they found an eaſie reception. *The Duke of* Guiſe, ſaid Baſſompierre, *was at firſt extravagant accord-*

1613. *ing to his cuſtom, but afterwards agreed to all.* The Dutcheſs his Wife, who was employed, uſed not many words to make him accept a round ſum of money. The Duke of *Eſpernon* demanded no more than a ſhare in the Government. That haughty and Ambitious Man was extreamly pleaſed, to be thought the fitteſt Perſon to deſtroy a powerful Faction, form'd by the firſt Pr. of the Blood, and the great Lords of the Kingdom. The next day the two Dukes ſaw the *Q.* apart, to the ſatisfaction of both Parties.

The former Miniſters of State are recalled.

As for the Miniſters of State, they were equally tractable; having been extreamly vex'd at the loſs of their Credit: The Chancellor and *Villeroy* were at variance, but they were quickly agreed. *Jeannin* was Commiſſioned to go and ſee the *Queen*, in name of them three, who was at the Palace of *Luxembourg*, whither ſhe daily went to ſee the ſtately Houſe and fine Gardens ſhe had there begun. The ſecret Conference the Queen had with the Preſident *Jeannin*, ſurprized the Marqueſs of *Ancre*, who was come thither; and his amazement was yet greater, when he was ſtop'd by the Officer of the Guards, from approaching the *Queen*, by her expreſs Order, to permit no body whoſoever to interrupt her, while ſhe ſpoke with Preſident *Jeannin*.

The Marqueſs then began to fear ſome new change in the Court, and he was altogether convinc'd of it, when the next day he ſaw the *Queen* give the Duke of *Eſpernon* a thouſand marks of reſpect: She caus'd place for him a Seat near her ſelf, on pretence that he was but juſt recovered of a great ſickneſs. She talk'd with him a long time, invited him to the Play, and made him there ſit by her, together with his good Friend *Zamet*, who had waited on him thither, without taking any notice of the Duke of *Mayenne* who was preſent. *I can but laugh*, ſaid *Conchini* ſwearing, *at the things of this World. The Queen takes care*

for

for a ſeat to Zamet, *without regarding the Duke of* Mayenne. *Who can henceforth reckon on the favour of Princes?* 1613.

The Queen was now extreamly well pleaſed. The day of her reconcilement with the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon*, was, in her opinion, *the moſt toilſome, and the moſt remarkable one of her Life. The Comedy*, ſaid ſhe, *was pretty intricate, but it ended in Peace and Rejoycing.* Being in ſo gay an humour, ſhe was very liberal. The Duke of *Guiſe* was made ſure of an hundred thouſand Crowns, and the recalling of the Count of *Rochefaucault*. His Brother had the General Lieutenancy of *Provence*, and the procedures that were begun againſt him were ſtopp'd. The Princeſs of *Conti* obtained the Reſervation of the Abbey of St. *Germain*. In fine, *Baſſompierre* had a promiſe to be made firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King.

The confuſion and perplexity of the P. of Conde.

The Prince of *Conde* went the next day to the *Louvre*, but great was his aſtoniſhment when he underſtood that the Queen was ſhut up in her Cloſet, with the Miniſters of State, and would not permit him to enter. After many thoughts on that unexpected Accident, malicious *Baſſompierre* ſuggeſted to him that poſſibly the Marſhal *Bouillon* had plaid a trick to his Highneſs on this occaſion, and had agreed with the Queen and her Miniſters at the Princes coſt. This ſuſpicion ſeemed not without ground to the poor Prince, who went to conſider on it with the Marqueſs of *Ancre*, no leſs confounded than he at the good Intelligence of the Queen with the Miniſters of State, and the new favour of the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon*.

The young Baron of Luz is alſo kill'd by the Chevalier de Guiſe.

The death of the young Baron of *Luz*, kill'd alſo in a Duel by the Chevalier *de Guiſe*, made no leſs noiſe in the World, tho' it occaſioned leſs trouble at Court, than that of his Father; The *Guiſes* being then in good fa-

1613. vour with the Queen. *Luz*, the Son of him I was juſt now ſpeaking of, poſſeſs'd with the falſe Maxims of the *French* Nobility, thought himſelf obliged in honour to demand ſatisfaction for the Death of his Father.

About a Month after he ſends a Challenge to the Chavelier *de Guiſe*, by a Gentleman nam'd *du Riol* in theſe words, 'My Lord, you ought to be 'a moſt faithful witneſs of my juſt grief: Pardon 'me then, I humbly beſeech you, if I demand by 'this billet to ſee you with my Sword in hand, 'to crave ſatisfaction for my Father's death. The 'eſteem I have of your Courage makes me hope, 'that you will not excuſe your ſelf by your qua- 'lity, from granting me a thing that Honour re- 'quires of you. This Gentleman will conduct you 'to the place where I wait for you on Horſeback. 'I have two ſwords, whereof you ſhall have the 'choice. If you think not fit to come to me, I will 'wait upon you where you ſhall appoint.

French Merc. 1615.

The Chavelier *de Guiſe* was yet a Bed when *du Riol* brought him the Challenge. He dreſſes himſelf in haſte, and takes the Chavelier *de Grignan* for his Second. They went all three to the place where the young Baron expected them. After the Formalities uſual on ſuch occaſions, they fought all four on Horſeback with the Sword. *Guiſe* was wounded at the firſt thruſt, but at the third paſs he run *Luz* through the body, who a little after fell from his Horſe. *Grignan* eſcacaped not ſo well from *du Riol*, who had given him two great Wounds. The Chevalier *de Guiſe* ran ſuddenly to his aſſiſtance, and *du Riol* ſeeing *Luz* ready to expire, immediately retired.

The gallant men of the Court, as is reported, went to congratulate the Chevalier *de Guiſe* upon an action which ought to cover him with diſgrace, in the opinion of all men of ſenſe. He had barbarouſly murder'd the Father to deliver his Family from a man they diſliked, and though the

the Rules of falſe Honour permitted him not to refuſe his Son the ſatisfaction he demanded; yet was not this ſecond Homicide at all leſs Criminal before God, and all men of ſound Judgment. So far ought they to have been from applauding the wretched Murtherer, that they ought to have look'd with horror upon a man, who, by unjuſtly killing the Father, reduc'd himſelf to a miſerable neceſſity of killing the Son, blinded by his juſt reſentment, and drawn on by the ill cuſtom of the Age. But what was moſt of all ſurpriſing in this Affair, was, that the *Queen* her ſelf, ſent to viſit the Chevalier *de Guiſe*, after the ſecond Duel, and to ask how he was after his Wound; though but a very few weeks before ſhe had ordered, that in leſs than eight days the Parliament ſhould expedit a proceſs againſt him for the firſt. 1613. *Memoirs of* Baſſompierre.

In this faſhion did the weak and imprudent Queen execute the Declarations iſſued out by her Son under her direction againſt Duels, in the beginning of this Year. The former Kings had indeavour'd to aboliſh this pernicious and deteſtable cuſtom, but without effect. *Lewis* XIII. in the laſt Years of his life was moſt againſt it. Neither muſt we deny to his Son the juſt praiſe that's due to his merit. His ſeverity has almoſt accompliſh'd what his Predeceſſors interpris'd without ſucceſs. That's the beſt, and perhaps the only good thing, he has done in the 56 Years of his Reign. Tho' the Juſtice of Men ſuffer'd Mr. *de Guiſe* to eſcape with impunity, all his bravery could not ſcreen him from Divine Juſtice. The next Year, when he was at the Caſtle of *Baux*, about 5 Leagues from *Arles* in *Provence*, he fir'd a Cannon himſelf, which ſplit into pieces; one of which wounded him ſo, that he died in two hours, a ſhort time for preparing to appear before the terrible Avenger of innocent blood. His Name was *Francis Paris de Lorrain*. French *Mercury*

1613. The ſtate of Affairs abroad diſquieted the Queen, as much as thoſe at home. *Francis* Duke of *Mantua* her Nephew, died in the latter end of the preceding Year; he was married to *Margaret* of *Savoy* Daughter to *Charles Emmanuel*, and left by her only one Daughter of four Years of Age. *Ferdinand* Cardinal *Gonzague* his Brother, was his unconteſted Succeſſor to the Dutchy of *Mantua*; but *Monferrat* being a Fee not entail'd to Males, belong'd to the young Princeſs. This Marquiſate was formerly given by the Emperor *Otho* to a Saxon Lord; and after him went into two different Families: firſt into that of the *Paleologues* by the marriage of *Yoland*, Heireſs of the Saxon Line to *Andronicus Paleologue* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*. *Theodore* their ſecond Son had *Monferrat* allotted to him; his Male Succeſſors poſſeſs'd it in Fee from the Weſtern Empire, till by their failure it went to the Houſe of *Gonzague*, by vertue of the Marriage of *Margaret Paleologue* with *Frederick* Duke of *Mantua*.

The death of Francis *Duke of* Man tua.

The new deſigns of Savoy *on this occaſion.*

The Dukes of *Savoy* diſputed this Succeſſion with the *Gonzagues*. They alledg'd an ancient compact between *Theodore Paleologue* and *Aimond* Count of *Savoy*, importing, That if the Male Line of the *Paleologues* fail'd, the Male Children of *Yoland* his Daughter married to *Aimond* of *Savoy*, ſhould be preferr'd to the Succeſſion of *Monferrat*, before the Daughters of the Family of *Paleologues*, who could demand no more than a portion ſuitable to their quality. *Charles Emmanuel* had yet further pretenſions to a part of *Monferrat*, by vertue of the latter Will of *Blanche Paleologue* marry'd into the Houſe of *Savoy*. She declar'd Duke *Charles* II. Heir to a part of *Monferrat* which ſhe claim'd a Right to, and to what was due to her as her Portion. The Sum was only 80000 Crowns. But the Intereſt from ſo long ago being accumulated to the Principal, made almoſt a Million of Livres. All this was the cauſe of a long Law Suit between

tween the Houſes of *Savoy* and *Gonzague*. The Emperor *Charles*, inſtead of giving a definitive Sentence, render'd the Affair more perplex'd. To ſatisfie both Parties, he adjudg'd the poſſeſſion of *Monferrat* to the Houſe of *Mantua*; and as for *Savoy*'s pretenſions by vertue of the latter Will of *Blanche Paleologue*, he left them as they were. 1613.

The marriage of the late Duke *Francis*, with *Margaret* of *Savoy*, was concluded upon, as an expedient for making an end of differences between the two houſes. In conſideration of this Alliance *Charles Emanuel* reſign'd all his pretenſions to his Daughter, and her Children. 'Twas likewiſe agreed upon by both parties, that a Line ſhould be drawn to divide the Eſtates of the two Princes, which run one into another: But that diviſion being not minded when the Duke of *Mantua* died, the Duke of *Savoy* revived his former right, ſo that he did not ſo much think of maintaining his Grandchild's pretenſions to *Montferrat*, as his own.

The Articles of the Duke of Savoy.

Upon the news of the death of the Duke of *Mantua*, he ſent two of his Confidents, not ſo much to comfort his Daughter, as to inſtruct her what ſhe ſhould do in the preſent juncture. Firſt of all they adviſ'd her to ſay ſhe was with Child; in order to hinder Cardinal *Gonzague* to take poſſeſſion of the Territories of the late Duke. *Margaret* was extremely careful of the intereſts of her Family, and *Charles Emanuel* had taken care to educate his Children in a perfect dependence on their Father's will: So that the young Widow readily conſented to pretend to be with child. *Victor Amedeus* the Prince of *Piemont* came himſelf to *Mantua*, under the pretence of viſiting his afflicted Siſter; but he had ſecret orders from his Father, to carry her and her Daughter out of *Mantua*, and conduct them either to *Turin* or *Milan*, or elſe to *Montferrat*, of which the young Princeſs was Heireſs. *It is not proper*, ſaid *Victor Amedeus* to the Court of *Man-*

1613. *tua, that a deſolate widow ſhould continue in a place, where ſhe alway meets with ſuch objects as renew her grief. Decency does not allow that ſhe ſhould be ſo near to the Cardinal her Brother-in-Law, who is as young as ſhe, and as much intereſted in the Succeſſion of* Mantua. *He himſelf ought to deſire her removal, to keep his reputation clear. Would he make himſelf anſwerable for all the accidents that may happen to a mother or a daughter? My Siſter,* continued he, *ought likewiſe to carry the young Princeſs along with her. She cannot be in better hands. The law of Nature, intitles Mothers to the Guardianſhip of their Children; becauſe they have more care and tenderneſs for them than any body elſe can have.*

Cardinal Ferdinand knew very well that the Savoyards meant only to make themſelves ſure of *Monferrat*, under the colour of having the young Heireſs in their Cuſtody; or elſe to have it put into the hands of *Inoioſa* Governour of *Milan*, their good Friend. Upon which account the Cardinal aledged ſeveral reaſons, for hindring his Siſter and Niece to go from *Mantua*. *Is it reaſonable*, replyed *Ferdinand*, *That we ſhould ſuffer a Princeſs to leave us, who is shortly to furniſh us with an Heir, capable to make this Country happy? The Princes of the Houſe of* Gonzague *are generally born where they are to Govern. And is not it more proper that my Niece ſhould be bred up in a Country, of which we will endavour to make her one day the Soveraign, by marrying her to the Heir of the Houſe of* Mantua? *If the ſight of my Brothers Palace, diſobliges his Widow, we have other Houſes where ſhe may retire with all liberty.*

Charles Emanuel was acting at *Millan*, with equal ardour and artifices. Being convinced they would never conſent to entruſt him with the Heireſs of *Monferrat*, he gave *Inoioſa* to kuow that ſhe was grand Niece to the King of *Spain*;

and

and that it was his Catholick Majeſties intereſt to take her out of the hands of her Unkles, by the Father's ſide, and ſecure her from the Cardinal, whom ſhe deprived of a ſucceſſion of a rich Marquiſate; that *Philip* III. ſhould the rather take care of *Mary*, was a buſineſs of importance to ſee *Monferrate* poſſeſſed by ſuch as he liked; and infine, that it was to be feared the *Gonzagues* would marry their Neece to the Duke of *Nevres* in *France*, their near relation. 1613.

Theſe reaſons, they ſay, were backed by ſome preſents from the Duke to the Marquis. They engaged the Governour to ſend Prince *Aſcoli* to *Mantua* with a great company, to demand from the Cardinal, the Dutcheſs and her Daughter. The propoſal at firſt ſtunned the Cardinal: but in alittle time he came to himſelf, and found out an expedient to fruſtrate the deſigns of the Prince of *Piemont*, and the Envoy of the Governour of *Millan*. *'Tis true*, replied *Ferdinand*, *that Princeſs* Mary *has the honour to belong to the King of* Spain, *But ſhe has likewiſe the honour of being Neece to the Emperor, and the Queen of* France. *I ought not to diſpoſe of her without the conſent of their Majeſties. Beſides, there is a difference betwixt the Dutcheſs my Siſter-in-Law and me, concerning the Guardianſhip of her Children; and it is the Emperors right, of whom we hold our Countries, to judge which of us is in the right.* After this anſwer, the Prince of *Piemont* and *Aſcoli* went off, either out of reſpect to the great names mentioned by the Cardinal, or elſe becauſe they were not ſupplied with the neceſſary percautions for ſpeaking further upon the matter.

The Governour of Milan *demands the Dutcheſs* Dowager *of* Mantua *and her daughter.*

The Marquiſs of *Trenel* reſided at *Turin*, in the name of *Mary of Medicis*, when he received the news of the death of the Duke of *Mantua*. In his Complements of Condoleance to *Charles Emanuel*, upon the unhappy accident, *Trenel* inſinuated, as from himſelf, to the diſſembling Savoyard

The Regent of France *oppoſes the deſigns of the D. of* Savoy.

1613. voyard, feigning at the ſame time to ſpeak of the Court of *Madrid*, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had ſo much goodwill for the Houſe of *Mantua*, that he would not fail to protect it, and oppoſe the force of his Arms to thoſe, who offered violence to his near relations. *Charles Emanuel* knew well enough, that the diſcourſe pointed to him, rather than the Spaniard; and laying by his ordinary diſſimulation, frankly anſwered, that he preſumed ſo far upon the juſtice of the King of *France*, and the Queen his Mother, that they would not take it ill, if in caſe of neceſſity, he aſſerted his Childrens right to the Territories of the Houſe of *Mantua*. My *Daughter*, added he, *is with Child and we do not know but that she may bring forth a Son. But let that be as it will, Princeſs* Mary *is the unconteſted Heireſs of* Montferrat. *If the Houſe of* Gonzague *offer any injuſtice to the* Mother *or the Daughter, am not I obliged to eſpouſe their intereſts? I cannot perſwade my ſelf, that his moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty, *whom I have always ſerv'd to my utmoſt, would upon this occaſion protect thoſe who would take away what belongs to me or my Children. Whatever may happen; if men prove unjuſt to us, we ſhall have recourſe to the Soveraign Judge of the World, and hope he'll be favourable to us.*

Such is the language of Princes when they go upon unwarrantable enterpriſes. *Gueffier* the French Reſident, at the Court of *Savoy* had orders to treat more poſitively with the Duke, and to declare to him, that Marſhal *Leſdiguires* would have Troops ready to march into *Italy*; as ſoon as any attempts were made, to the prejudice of the Houſe of *Mantua*, whom the Crown of *France* had engag'd to protect. *Trenel* being goue ta *Mantua*, to condole the Cardinal upon the death of the late Duke, in the name of the King of *France*, and the Queen his Mother, gave him the ſame aſſurances by the Regents orders. This contributed not a little to animate *Ferdinand*, who was mightily perplexed in all his concerns.

He might have expected some Relief from the Pope, whose chief Interest was concern'd in keeping up the Peace of *Italy*. But the timorous selfish Old Man acted but weakly. Notwithstanding the Sollicitations of *Breves* the Ambassador of *France*, to stir him up to prevent the Troubles which this Contest might occasion in *Italy*; the old Gentleman would give no other Answer, but that the Queen of *France* ought to press his Catholick Majesty to send express Orders to the Governour of *Milan*, prohibiting him to back the Duke of *Savoy's* Pretensions. His Holiness was privately gain'd by the *Spaniards*, who flatter'd themselves with some advantage by the Ambition of *Charles Emmanuel*; and accordingly advis'd the Cardinal of *Mantua* to send the Mother and Daughter to *Milan*. 'Twas propos'd to him, that he should take them both to *Bologne* under the protection of the Holy See. But he excus'd himself, alledging that *Charles Emmanuel* put no Confidence in him. After all *Breves* told him, that at least 'twas expected, his Love for the Common Good of *Italy* would oblige him to oppose his Spiritual and Temporal Arms to the Duke of *Savoy*, in case he offer'd to attack the Cardinal of *Mantua* by open Force. His Holiness answer'd in general Terms, that in that case he would follow the motions of his Conscience, and act as God inspir'd him: The common Allegation of those who mind their own Humor and Interest more than the Voice of the Holy Spirit. He had spoke more frankly and more to the purpose, had he said, that he would not meddle with Princes that car'd not much for his Authority. In Effect, that is the sentiment of the Princes of the Popish Communion. They are all sensible that his pretended Authority is only Usurpation and Pageantry. And yet, by I know not what Policy, they all keep fair with him. They imagine, right or wrong, that the Popes Authority is of necessary Use to them on some Occasions. And the Court of *Rome* cunningly takes the advantage of this favourable Prejudice; to wipe off any piece of Contempt now and then; while in the mean time she retains her Revenues, and a spiritual Power over the Ignorant and Superstitious People, without whom the Pontifical Chair could not subsist long.

1613. *The Pope's Carriage in the business of* Mantua.

Siri Mem. Rec. tom. 3. p. 16.

1613. *The Republick of* Venice *supports the Cardinal of* Mantua.

Nani Hiſt. Venet. lib. 1613.

The *Venetians* were leſs timorous, and more wiſe than the Pope. Theſe able Politicians foreſaw too well the conſequences of the buſineſs of *Mantua*; and could eaſily ſee thro' all the Artifices of the D. of *Savoy*. Accordingly the Senat took care to encourage the Cardinal, and furniſh him with good Counſel, which he ſtood in need of, for fear of being over-reach'd. They employ'd their Intereſt at the Courts of *Vienna* and *France*, in order to engage them in oppoſing the ſecret Deſigns of the *Spaniard*, and the Enterpriſes of *Charles Emmanuel*. The Emperor *Matthias* was as diſtruſtful of the King of *Spain* his Couſin as any Prince in *Europe*. Cardinal *Cleſel* his Firſt Miniſter encourag'd the Jealouſie; for both he and his Maſter were perſwaded that the *Spaniards* were rather for overturning than maintaining the Emperor's Authority in *Italy*. Upon which account *Matthias* made no difficulty in adjudging to the Cardinal of *Mantua* the Guardianſhip of the late D. of *Mantua*'s Children; and for that purpoſe giving to the Cardinal a Diſpenſation of Age, becauſe he was not old enough to be a Guardian according to the ordinary Laws.

Ferdinand Gonzague *takes upon him the quality of the D. of* Mantua.

Nani Hiſt. Ven. lib. 1. 1618. Siri Mem. Rec. tom. 3. p. 52.

At length, after a Faint of three Months, the Dutcheſs *Margaret* declares ſhe was not with Child; and *Ferdinand Gonzague* takes upon him the quality of Cardinal Duke of *Mantua*. The Prince of *Piemont* comes in queſt of his Siſter, to conduct her to *Turin*. *Iſabel* another Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*, that had married *Cæſar d' Eſte* Duke of *Modena*, came likewiſe to *Mantua* to meet with her Brother the Prince, and *Margaret* her Siſter. In order to appeaſe all Differences 'twas reckon'd expedient for the Cardinal to marry. And *Ferdinand* did not ſeem averſe to it. *Margaret* thought that by ſhedding a few Tears ſhe could move a Lover, and obtain his permiſſion, to carry off the Princeſs *Mary*. But whatever inclination he might have for *Margaret*, his Love was not yet ſo ſtrong, as to carry him beyond all the Reaſons that engag'd him not to part with his Niece. The Prince of Piemont ſeeing him inflexible upon that point, thought upon an expedient for an accomodation. 'Twas; that the Dutcheſs Dowager ſhould go to *Modena* with her Daughter, and ſtay there till the propos'd Marriage be accompliſh'd; and if the Marriage did not take, that *Margaret*

ſhould

ſhould go alone from thence to *Turin*, and *Cæſar d' Eſte* ſhould engage, by Promiſe, to ſend back Princeſs *Mary* to *Mantua*, upon the Demand of the Emperor or of the Cardinal Duke. 1613.

Ferdinand was catch'd in the Snare. I know not whether his Miniſters were brib'd, or whether he had not quickneſs and penetration enough to perceive it; but ſo it was, that he imprudently accepted the Propoſal made by his Enemies. As ſoon as the Miniſters of *France* got notice of it, they repreſented to *Ferdinand*, that if his Niece went once out of his Hands, he would never have her again; and the Duke of *Modena* would be ſo inveigled by the Artifices of *Charles Emmanuel* and the Marquis of *Inoioſa*, that he ſhould not be in a Capacity to deliver her if he would. They ſaid further to the weak Prince; *If you marry any other Perſon than* Margaret, *and if God give you Children; what Conteſts will they have with the Heireſs of part of your Eſtates? Have you weigh'd well all theſe inconveniencies.* Upon this Remonſtrance the Cardinal Duke began to open his Eyes; but he had given his Word, and he did not know how to go from it. The Miniſters of *France* and the *Venetians* help'd him out in perſwading the Duke of *Modena* not to take the Charge of a *Depoſitum* that would occaſion an infinity of Trouble to him; ſo that the Prince of *Piemont* was forc'd to ſet out for *Turin*, together with his Siſter *Margaret*, who was mightily afflicted in parting with her Daughter. *The Duke of* Savoy's *new Efforts to get his Grandchild out of* Mantua.

They arriv'd at *Milan* in the Holy Week. The Governor invited them to paſs the Devotion-days there; but *Victor Amedeus*, and *Inoioſa* were minding ſomewhat elſe than the Holy days. *Inoioſa* ſent forthwith to *Modena* to engage *d' Eſte* to take upon him the Charge of the Dutcheſs and Princeſs of *Mantua*, whom they would gladly entruſt him with. When they were aſſur'd of *d'Eſte*'s Complyance, the Captain of the Governor's Guards was diſpatch'd to *Mantua* to ſummon the Cardinal Duke, in *Inoioſa*'s name, to make good his promiſe. *Ferdinand* was ſurpris'd by this new Meſſage, and had no other way of evading, but by retracting what he had ſaid. He pleaded that he could not give up his Niece without the conſent of the Emperor, who had given him the Guardianſhip of her.

1613. The titular Biſhop of the Dioceſs was order'd to go to *Milan* to make this excuſe to the Governour. *Ferdinand* order'd him alſo to go on to *Verceil*, where *Charles Emmanuel* was come, to meet his Daughter *Margaret*, as 'twas pretended; tho' his real deſign was to execute ſome Project that he had in his Head.

The ambitious Projects of the Duke of Savoy.

The Biſhop had Orders to negotiat the propos'd Marriage between the Cardinal Duke and his Siſter-in-Law. Sometimes the diſſembling *Savoyard* ſeem'd to give Ear to that expedient; but he had no mind to conclude the matter. He hug'd the Opportunity of invading *Monferrat*, and had no mind to quit it. He told the Biſhop freely, that he would not quit his pretenſions to *Montferrat* on the behalf of that ſecond Marriage. He demanded not only the Jewels that his Daughter had brought to the Family of *Gonzagues*, but likewiſe thoſe which her Husband preſented her with. The laſt the Cardinal Duke refus'd to give up. And *Charles Emmanuel* being lifted up with great Hopes, thought of nothing elſe but ſatisfying his Ambition.

He flatter'd himſelf that he had time to accompliſh his Deſigns, before the Princes of *Italy*, lull'd up in a long and profound Peace, ſhould be awake. The thing that diſquieted him moſt was the Vigilancy and Care of the Republick of *Venice*, beyond any of their Neighbours. But he fancy'd that tho' the Seignory would not approve of the deſign'd Invaſion, yet after it were over, they would rather ſuffer him to continue in it, than engage in a Civil War. As for the Emperor, he did not much trouble his Head about him. The Emperor's Authority in *Italy* is only a vain Title, without Force or Action. There was more Reaſon to dread the two Crowns. But the Duke believ'd that *Mary de Medicis*, being buſy'd at home with the Factions of the Princes and Lords, would not be able to afford any great Relief to the Houſe of *Mantua*. And as for the Court of *Madrid*, he made Account to procure their Favor by the Intereſt of the Governor of *Milan*, his Friend. Beſides, there was then no Troops in the *Milaneſe*; and it would be a conſiderable time before they could ſend any thither. And let it be as it would, he thought *Spain* would be ſo much afraid of bringing the *French* into *Italy*, that they would be very

ſlow

slow in declaring for one or the other. Now in Effect that was the Consideration that should have discourag'd *Charles Emanuel*, if he had not been blinded by Ambition. For as the King of *Spain* was afraid of nothing so much as giving the *French* any Opportunity of carrying their Arms into *Italy*; so he would certainly hinder the Duke of *Savoy* to attack by open Force the House of *Mantua*, which *France* would not fail to take under her Protection. 1613.

Charles Emanuel draws together his Troops with all possible Privacy, and marches from *Verceil*, *April* 22. 1613. in order to enter *Monferrat* with Sword in Hand. At first he surpriz'd some Places; others being unprovided surrender'd 'emselves soon after; so that in a few days he was Master of almost all the Province, bating *Casal*. Nay, he had taken this important Place, and the rest of the Marquisat, had not *Charles Gonzague*, Duke of *Nevers* of *France*, luckily happen'd to be then in *Italy*. He had undertaken the Charge of conducting to *Florence Katharine* of *Lorrain*, his own Sister-in-Law, and Daughter to the late Duke of *Mayenne*, marry'd to Count *Saintesiore* Son to the Duke *Sforce*. 'Tis uncertain whether his Design was to come and assist the Cardinal Duke, the Head of the *Gonzague* Family with his Counsel and Arms, in case of need; or to negotiat at *Rome* and *Venice* for the Execution of a chimerical Notion he had conceiv'd, of a Descent into the *Morea*. As soon as *Nevers* arriv'd near *Genoua*, he receiv'd Letters in the Name of the Nobility of *Monferrat*, inviting him to come immediatly to their Relief, in putting a stop to the Duke of *Savoy*'s Arms. *Nevers* forthwith set out with some Soldiers he had got together, and by the Conduct of a good Guide luckily got into *Casal*, which the Cardinal Duke was re-inforcing with all his Might. *Vincent Gonzague* the Cardinal's Brother came thither at the same time; and as he pass'd thro' *Milan* acquainted *Inoiosa* with the sudden Designs of the Enemy of their Family, who flatter'd himself with this Thought, That the Conquest of *Monferrat*, would one day facilitat that of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which he had long thought of.

The Duke of Savoy *invades* Monferrat.

This Interprize makes great Commotions i Italy.

Upon the Noise of the Duke's March, all *Italy* took the Alarm. 'Twas not doubted but *Inoiosa* kept a Cor-

1613. respondence with him, tho' he pretended to condemn the Enterprize. He pretended to exclaim againſt him, ſent circular Letters to the Princes of *Italy*, and writ to *France* that the King his Maſter diſallow'd the *Savoyard*'s Motions, and would vigorouſly oppoſe thoſe who diſturb'd the Peace of *Italy*. But all the World knew that there was a Colluſion between him and *Emanuel*, from whom he had receiv'd conſiderable Preſents. 'Tis not known whether the Marquis *de Bedmar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Venice* was more ſincere in proteſting to the Seignory that *Philip* would willingly joyn with the *Venetians* to ſecure the Repoſe of *Italy*, that the Cardinal Duke ſhould be re-inſtaated in the Poſſeſſion of *Monferrat*, and *Charles Emanuel* puniſh'd for his Temerity.

As ſoon as the *Savoyard*'s Deſigns were publick, the Republic of *Venice* caus'd their Miniſters to repreſent to him, that they were ſurpriz'd to ſee him raiſe a War, which was capable to draw in Foreign Troops to *Italy*, that muſt firſt paſs thro' his Country. "There are ſome "Conqueſts, ſaid thoſe wiſe Senators, that do not me-"rit to be purchas'd at the Price of the Repoſe and "Tranquility of an able Prince. Take care of your "own Glory and Intereſt. You run the Riſque of "forfeiting the one, and expoſe your Country to be the "Seat of a War, which perhaps you will not ſee "finiſh'd. *France* and *Spain* will imbarque into it; "at leaſt, they'll be Arbitrators of the Difference, "and there will be a Neceſſity of ſtanding to their "Orders. Inſtead of liſtening to ſuch ſage Remonſtrances, the Duke order'd the Ambaſſador of the Republick to retire from about him; but the ambitious Prince in a ſhort time perceiv'd that he had engag'd himſelf in an Affair, that he could not well get clear of with his Honour. The *Venetians* ſent 3000 Men to preſerve *Caſal*. The Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* promis'd the Cardinal Duke 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe. The Houſe of *Mantua* rais'd 3000 *Swiſs*; ſo that in a ſhort time they hop'd to be in a Condition to make head againſt the Duke of *Savoy* with 16 or 17000 Men. But things did not ſucceed ſo well as they expected. As for the Pope, he would promiſe nothing but his good Offices in making Peace. The

Quality

Quality of a common Father is a conſiderable Buſineſs, when one projects to enrich their own Family, rather than relieve Princes when wrongfully attack'd. 1613.

In the mean time Manifeſto's were given out on both ſides. The Duke of *Savoy* alledg'd that the Guardianſhip of Princeſs *Mary* belong'd to the Dutcheſs his Mother. He inſiſted much upon the Cardinal Duke's Refuſal to ſtand to his Word; and the Excuſe of not parting with the Princeſs, becauſe the Emperor had given him the Charge and Guardianſhip of her, was not ill refuted. And indeed the Excuſe was none of the beſt. The Cardinal had deſir'd the Emperor's Commiſſion. And he had declar'd his want of it ſufficiently, in promiſing to put his Niece into the Hands of the Duke of *Modena*. *Charles Emanuel* likewiſe explain'd his Pretenſions upon *Monferrat* with as much Aſſurance, as if they had been the juſteſt and cleareſt in the World. That's the Cuſtom of ambitious Princes. They think the World will be gull'd by 'em, and Men of Senſe will take their Word for every thing. The Cardinal Duke in his Manifeſto reply'd, That the Dutcheſs his Siſter-in-Law was not of Age, and by conſequence the Laws did not allow her to be her Daughter's Guardian; and that Mothers forfeit the Right of Guardianſhip to their Children, when they depart voluntarily from their Husband's Houſe and Country. Upon which the Cardinal Duke concluded, That when *Margaret* ſo importunately deſir'd to go to *Turin*, ſhe did willingly renounce the Guardianſhip of the Princeſs of *Mantua*. He endeavour'd to make out the Validity of the Emperor's Commiſſion. But his Word given afterwards, and his refuſing to ſtand to it, did look ſo badly, that 'twas not poſſible to give it a good Colour. He had better have own'd his Imprudence. Such Conduct, as that is, coſts a Prince too much. The ſuperannuated and exorbitant Pretenſions upon *Monferrat* were very well refuted. They did not fail to confront em with the Duke's Reſignation of the ſame, upon the Marriage of his Daughter to the late Duke *Francis* of *Mantua*. That was a Breach of Promiſe more conſiderable than the Cardinal Duke's. How could he have the Face to make ſuch a Noiſe of the Retractation of a Man that was over-reach'd; he who was the moſt perfidious Cheat of all the Princes of his time?

The Savoy *and* Mantua *Manifeſto's.*

French Mercury 1613.

1613. *The Duke of Savoy his Artifices and Bravado's.*

He acted a thousand different Parts to get his Conduct approv'd of; or at least, to gain time by managing the two Crowns. Sometimes he propos'd to put up the Arms of the King of *Spain* above the Gates of all the Cities he had taken in *Monferrat*, and to put 'em into the Hands of the *Spaniard*, providing he allow'd a *Savoy* Garrison. Sometimes he offer'd to give *Casal* to *Philip* III. providing the House of *Savoy* enjoy'd the rest of *Monferrat*. When he wrote to the Regent of *France*, he did it in the most submissive manner imaginable. He was ready to resign into her Majesty's Hands all that he had taken from the House of *Mantua*. When he perceiv'd that his feign'd Submission did him no Service, he acted a quite contrary Part. He menac'd and brav'd all the World; one would have thought all *Europe* had been at his Disposal. When the *Spaniards* charg'd him to desist from that Undertaking, he proudly answer'd, he would joyn in with *France*. When the Pope importun'd him to make Peace, he threaten'd to bring an Army of Protestants into *Italy*, to assist him. When the Republick of *Venice* mean'd to assist the Cardinal Duke, he menac'd nothing less than to bring the *Turk* against them, and to cover the *Adriatick* Sea with Corsairs and Pyrates. But after all, he spoke sometimes of Peace; but his Proposals were so far out of the way, that they could not be accepted of; or else so ambiguous, that no body could guess what his Demands were.

His Intrigues at the Court of France are discover'd.

This turbulent man plac'd more Confidence in his Intrigues with some great Lords at the Court of *France*, than in any thing else. He frequently sent Courtiers to the Marshal *Lesdiguieres*, his Friend, who commanded in *Dauphiny*, by reason of the Nonage of Count *Soissons*. He pretended to do nothing without *Lesdiguieres* his Advice; to engage him in his Interests, to hinder him from a punctual Obedience to the King's Orders for assisting her Nephews of *Mantua*, and to amuse the Marshal by several Proposals for an Accomodation. *Charles Emmanuel* entertain'd likewise a great Correspondence with the Duke of *Bellegarde*, who was disaffected to the Regent. The Government of *Burgundy*, in which *Bellegarde* was canton'd, might

Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 3. p. 81.

might have done useful Service to the *Savoyards* Designs. In fine, he had Agents and hidden Spies at the Court of *France*, who gave him an Account of every thing, and had great Intelligence from the Prince of *Conde*, and disaffected Lords; and even from the Marquis and Marchioness of *Ancre*, the Queen's most intimate Confidents. The Duke of *Savoy* being thus exactly inform'd of all that pass'd at Court, and in the Provinces, fancy'd that *Mary de Medicis* would be so perplex'd with the Factions, that he himself encourag'd with extraordinary Application; That she would not be in a Condition to think of Foreign Matters; and that in a short time she would have a Civil War upon her hands. 1613.

In effect, the Duke of *Guise* was still wavering, notwithstanding all the Care the Regent took to secure him; and the Prince of *Conde* omitted nothing that could catch him. The Duke of *Vendome*, Governor of *Britanny*, had given his Word to the Dutchess of *Merceur*, his Mother-in-Law, that he would be Faithful to the Queen; and yet made a strict Agreement with *Conde*, before he went for *Britanny*, in order to hold the Convention of the States of that Important Province. The Marshal *Bouillon*, being vex'd that he could not obtain what he aspir'd to, was the Man that underhand endeavour'd to turn the Duke of *Guise* from the Queen's Interest, and to fortifie the Prince's Party, in order to make his Service necessary to the Queen, and to make her buy it at a dear rate. The Marquis of *Ancre* was so eager against the Ministers of State, whom that Cabal had resolv'd to supplant, that he engag'd in it so far, that the Regent was oblig'd to threaten him with Exile or Imprisonment, if he did not disingage himself from the Cabal, and come immediately to Court; from which he absented himself, under the Pretence of some Grudge. *I am a Man of Honour*, said he to *Bassompierre*, when he spoke to him on the Behalf of his Benefactress. *The Queen believes that Men will go from their Word: But for me, I'll be Faithful to the Prince and the Others, to whom Her Majesty her self has engag'd me.* The Deceitful *Italian* did not care more for *Conde* than for the Ministers of State. His Resolution was likewise to discard the Princes and Lords

Memoirs of Bassompierre.

1613. Lords of whom he was jealous, after he had once put thoſe from the Court, who as he thought were too much concern'd in the Adminiſtration of Affairs. The Miniſters did not ſlip this fair Opportunity of irritating the Queen againſt the Marquis. They took care to exaggerate the Ingratitude of a Man that ſhe her ſelf had rais'd. *Galigai* his Wife was the firſt that cried out againſt him. But underhand She and her Husband underſtood one another very well. They were both concern'd in the ſame Intrigue.

Their Enemies thought they had got hold of an Opportunity to ruine 'em both, without Remedy. *Gueffier*, the Reſident from *France*, in *Savoy*, had diſcover'd that the Duke was acquainted with the moſt ſecret Intrigues of the Court; and the Advices and Pacquets were addreſs'd to one Baron *de la Roche*, in *Dauphiny*, who was often with the Duke. Beſides, *Gueffier* had ſome way or other light upon a Paper writ by the Duke of *Savoy*'s Spy. He ſent it to *France*, in order to find out who wrote it. Several Perſons were ſuſpected. And the Commiſſioners of the *Poſt-Office* were order'd to ſtop him that brought in Letters writ with the ſame Hand. The Queen was then paſſing the Spring at *Fontainbleau*. 'Twas there that they catch'd a *Dauphineſe*, call'd *Magnac*, giving into the *Poſt-Houſe* a Pacquet of Letters addreſs'd to the Baron *de la Roche*. He is brought before the Members of the Queen's Council, and Interrogated. *Magnac* accus'd the Marquis and Marchioneſs of *Ancre*, and above all, their great Confident *Dole*. The Miniſters triumph'd over the Diſcovery. They boaſted already, that *Conchini* and his Wife, or at leaſt *Dole*, would never get clear of ſuch an ugly Buſineſs. And certainly there was ground enough to have ruin'd them, had not their Friends done them extraordinary Service, or had they been under a Miſtreſs of more Prudence and leſs Indulgence than *Mary de Medicis*.

French Mercury, 1613.

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

The Marquis *of* Ancre *his troubles upon the account of his intrigues with the D. of* Savoy.

Baſſompierre had cunningly pump'd the whole Secret out of *Lomenie*, Secretary of State, who heard it from the Queen; and thought it his Duty to give ſpeedy Advice of it to *Conchini*, whom he look'd upon as his Friend. The Marquis of *Ancre* deny'd that he knew *Magnac*, and affected to ſpeak like a Man that

fear'd

fear'd nothing. *Baſſompierre* contented himſelf with the good Office he had done to a Man that might have made ſome Advantage of it, if he thought fit; and ſo took Leave of the Marquis, to go and fetch a Walk along the Canal of *Fontainbleau*. But *Conchini* reflecting upon the Advice he had received, ſent ſpeedily after him to re-call him. He came, and they both ſhut themſelves up in a Gallery. *Conchini* was much diſquieted, and walk'd ſome time without ſpeaking: At length he cries out, all of a ſudden, in his own ſort of Language, half *French* half *Italian*, *I am undone, Monſieur* Baſſompierre! *The Miniſters, my Enemies, have got the Aſcendant about the Queen*! Then he fell a weeping and crying moſt bitterly; and after that, threw out a Thouſand execrable Blaſphemies. *Baſſompierre* left him to torment himſelf for ſome time. When his Blood was a little cool, he ſaid to him, *It's your Part, Sir, to take a good Heart. The Queen's Favour is a great Support for you againſt your Enemies. If you are innocent, nothing will hinder her to hear your Defences. If your own Conſcience charge you with any thing, retire immediately to your Government of* Amiens. *Leave the Management of the Affairs to your Wife and your Friends; they'll find ſome lucky Minute for pacifying the Queen.*

1613. *Memoirs of* Baſſompierre.

Conchini being ſenſible of his Guilt, deſign'd immediately to provide for the Security of his Perſon, by going to *Amiens*; whither *Baſſompierre* was willing to accompany him. But *Dole*, who was afraid of being undone, if the Marquis left the Court, perſwaded him to change his Reſolution. Then he had recourſe to the Queen's Goodneſs, who was too much infatuated with *Leonora* his Wife. Her Majeſty readily pardon'd them this Trick. The Commiſſioners that examin'd *Magnac* gave in a Report very Favourable to the Marquis and Marchioneſs. *Mamier* and *Mangot*, whom they gain'd, did them good Service on this Occaſion: And for a Reward to theſe mercenary Souls, each of them got the Office of a High Preſident, the former for the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, and the latter for that of *Bourdeaux*. The Names of *Conchini* and his Wife were ſuppreſs'd in the Proceſs drawn up againſt *Magnac* by the Lieutenant-Prevoſt of the King's Houſhold; and that poor Wretch, who had not the greateſt Share of the

Guilt

Guilt, was broke on the Wheel alive at *Fontainbleau*.

The Miniſters are reconcil'd to the Marquis of Ancre.

The Miniſters were convinc'd upon this Occaſion, that the Marquis and Marchioneſs of *Ancre* were ſo rivetted in the Queen's Favour, that nothing was able to unhinge them; whereupon they reſolv'd upon a Reconciliation. Preſident *Jeannin*, who had always been in good enough Terms with the Favourite, offer'd to the Queen to Reconcile *Villeroy* and the *Chancellour* to the Marquis of *Ancre*. She deſired nothing more than the Union of her Creatures, in order to make head againſt the oppoſite Party. A Marriage was ſtarted between *Conchini*'s Daughter and the Marquis of *Villeroy*, Grandchild to the Secretary of State. In the mean time, the Miniſters promis'd the Favorite, who had chiefly rejected to raiſe himſelf upon their Ruine, that they would aſſiſt him in all his Enterprizes, and contribute with all their Might to aggrandize his Fortune. *Baſſompierre* having done ſuch Conſiderable Service this Year, both to *Conchini* and the Miniſters, complain'd, that they ſhould be reconcil'd without his Knowledge, and then combine together to ruine him with the Queen. In effect they render'd the Conduct of *Baſſompierre* ſo ſuſpected to the uneven Humour'd and diſtruſtful Princeſs, that he deſpair'd of obtaining any thing, and was put upon the Point of forſaking the Court of *France*, and going to try his Fortune elſewhere. But his good Friends, eſpecially the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Princeſs of *Conti*, ſpoke ſo effectually to the Regent, that ſhe gave him good Words to encourage him to ſtay. The Princeſs of *Conti* had no mind to loſe her Gallant, and the Duke of *Guiſe* was perſwaded, by long Experience, that *Baſſompierre* was no uſeleſs Friend.

The Court of France *reſolves to ſend Relief to the Houſe of* Mantua.

The Regent was not ſo much concern'd about the Intrigues of the Court, as about the State of Affairs Abroad. The Buſineſs of *Monferrat* ſhe look'd upon as the moſt Important Affair that ſhe could have to manage during her Adminiſtration. But ſhe wou'd form no Reſolution without the Advice of the Princes and Principal Lords of the Kingdom. Beſides, this was a fair Occaſion of re-calling to Court the Prince and the Heads of his Party, who had ſlink'd away,

one

one after another, out of Anger, becauſe the Queen was reconcil'd to the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Epernon*, and had re-call'd her Miniſters. The firſt Reſolution they came to, was, to ſend 2000 Men to *Caſal*, under the Conduct of Monſieur *de Guiſe*, to embarque in *Provence*, and paſs from thence along the *Savone* to *Montferrat*. And foraſmuch as the Court of *France* was convinc'd, that the Governour of *Milan* did ſecretly encourage the Duke of *Savoy*, or elſe that the King of *Spain* meant to reap ſome Advantage by the Difference, they reſolv'd to ſend their Armies to attack *Charles Emanuel* on three different Quarters. The Marſhal *Leſdiguieres* was to lead the more numerous Part through *Dauphiny* into *Piemont*. The Duke of *Guiſe* was to command the ſmalleſt Body, and to attack the *Savoyard* upon the ſide of *Provence*. And the third was to make an Irruption through *Burgundy*, under the Command of *Bellegard*. 1613.

As ſoon as this was concluded upon in the Regents Council, the Dutcheſs of *Nevers* went ſtraight to *Grenoble*, to oblige *Leſdiguieres* to a ſpeedy March. But the Regents Ardour for ſuccouring her Nephews, did ſoon relent. The Duke of *Savoy*'s underhand Friends, cunningly repreſented to her the Danger of intruſting great Lords with an Army in the time of a Minority, and of placing a Proteſtant Marſhal of *France* at the Head of the moſt conſiderable Body. *Ubaldini* the Pope's *Nuncio* join'd in the ſame Intrigue, for fear the Arms of *France* ſhou'd make too great a Progreſs in *Italy*; and that *Lesdiguieres* ſhou'd carry with him too great a Number of Proteſtants, which are things that the Court of *Rome* is always extreamly Jealous of. The ſupple *Italian*, back'd by ſome others, endeavour'd to perſwade the timorous and unſteady Queen, that there was no neceſſity of carrying her Arms into *Piemont* ſo ſpeedily; ſince the King of *Spain* himſelf deſign'd to appear againſt *Savoy*, and to procure to the Houſe of *Mantua* the Reſtoration of what they loſt in *Montferrat*. "If "you ſend, Madam, ſaid he, ſo powerful a Relief to "the Cardinal Duke, that ſame Motion will afford Um- "brage and Jealouſy to King *Philip*. He'll then aſſiſt "the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſo a Rupture will enſue be- "tween you and *Spain*. If your Majeſty jointly with "the King of *Spain*, do but threaten *Charles Emmanuel*, "that

The Regent is diſſwaded from ſending Succour to the Cardinal Duke ſo ſpeedily.

1613. " that will ſuffice to put a ſtop to the Career of a " Prince, who has begun a War that he can never " carry on without the ſupport of one or the other " Crown. Theſe Inſinuations perſwaded the Queen to ſuſpend the marching of her Troops, till ſhe ſaw the ſucceſs of the Negotiations then on foot at *Madrid*.

The K. of Spain declares againſt Savoy.

The *Spaniards*, having ſeriouſly reflected upon the conſequences of the ambitious Motions of *Savoy*, in *Italy* and elſewhere, reſolv'd in earneſt to oppoſe the Deſigns of the uneaſy and turbulent Prince. Accordingly *Vargas* ſecretary of *Millan*, receiv'd Orders to declare downright to *Charles Emmanuel*, that if he wou'd not willingly ſurrender the Towns he had taken in *Montferrat*, *Philip* wou'd oblige him to do it by force. The Duke of *Lerma* no[t] only hated the Duke of *Savoy*, but he was likeways a[n] man that did not care for War, either becauſe he thought Peace more conducive to the preſervation of his Authority, or becauſe he had a mind to act conformably to his Prince's ſoft and peaceable Temper.

By this means *Charles Emanuel* was in a ſadder Condition than ever. He made a ſhew of liſtning to ſome Terms of Accommodation, propos'd in the Pope's name by *Maſſini* his Nuncio. And *Victor Amedeus*, Prince of *Piemont*, went to *Milan* on purpoſe to negotiat that Affair; but his Father always found ſome Evaſion when the matter was near a Concluſion. At the ſame time that he ſeem'd diſpos'd to Peace, he endeavour'd to penetrate further into *Montferrat*. Tho' *France* and *Spain* did equally menace him, and the Princes of *Italy* were, a'moſt all, declar'd againſt him, yet his Courage did not at all relent; he was reſolv'd to make ſome new Effort for appeaſing the Storm that roar'd on all Hands. He diſpatch'd the Prince of *Piemont* with all ſpeed for *Madrid*, to repreſent his Title to the Catholick King; and engaged the Duke of *Nemours* his Brother to make a Voyage into *France* in order to gain the Regent, if it were poſſible, or at leaſt to thwart the D. of *Mayenne*, who ſollicited earneſtly on the behalf of the Houſe of *Mantua*. But *Spain* regarded him as little as *France*. As ſoon as the Prince of *Piemont* ſet his foot on Spaniſh Ground in *Catalonia*, the King of *Spain* ſent to prohibite him to come further, till ſuch time as the news were arriv'd

riv'd of his Fathers obedience to his Majeſties laſt Orders. 1613.

The Emperor acquaints the D. of Savoy, that he muſt deſiſt from his Enterprize.

According to the project of accommodation propos'd by the Pope's *Nuncio*, the D. of *Savoy* was to reſign the Places he poſſeſt in *Montferrat* into the hands of his Holineſs. This diſoblig'd the Court of *Vienna*. In effect, ſince this Marquiſat was a Fief of the Empire, it was the Emperours part to be Judge of the Difference, and it ought to have been ſequeſtrated into his Hands, with a preference to any other. *Matthias* therefore order'd P. *Caſtiglioni* his Commiſſioner in *Italy* to go to *Turin*, and tell *C. Emanuel*, that he muſt immediately raiſe the Siege from before *Nice de la Paille*, a City of *Montferrat*; that he muſt conſent to the Suſpenſion of Arms which his Imperial Majeſty enjoin'd to both Parties, under the pain of being outlaw'd by the Empire; and that he muſt ſpeedily diſcard his Troops, in order to diſperſe the Umbrage which his Enterprize occaſion'd. Tho' the Emperor pretended to be the only Judge of a Conteſt concerning a Fee of the Empire; yet the King of *Spain* expected to be Arbitrator of the Affair, without the Concurrence of either the Empire or *France*. All theſe incident Circumſtances were welcome to *Charles Emanuel*. While he wrangled upon ſome of the Articles propos'd to him, and waited the Deciſion of the Competitors; he had the more time to carry on his Conqueſts in *Monferrat*.

The Prince *Caſtiglione* being tir'd by the Duke's Delays, publiſhed a Proclamation in the Emperor's name; in which *Charles Emanuel* was enjoin'd to reſign all the Places he had taken in *Montferrat*, into the Hands of the Emperor's Commiſſioner, to ſend in ten days time a Commiſſioner to confer with one deputed from the D. of *Mantua* in the preſence of the Prince *Caſtiglione*, upon the ways of adjuſting this Difference, to the Satisfaction of the Parties concern'd. Then 'twas promis'd the Affair ſhould be brought to an end in a month's time after their Interview. But before they ſpoke in ſuch a preciſe and abſolute manner, was it not proper to have had a ſufficient Force in *Italy*, to oblige 'em to Obedience, in caſe either Party made Reſiſtance? The Emperor's Authority was too raſhly expos'd. The Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* regarded it no farther,

than

than in ſo far, as the great Name might be ſerviceable to them upon ſome Accounts. The Princes of *Italy*, who were Feuditaries to the Empire, endeavour'd to withdraw themſelves as much as they could from under an Authority that incommodes 'em, notwithſtanding its Weakneſs. The King of *Spain* himſelf ſecretly undermines it, when he has occaſion. His Catholick Majeſty would have no other Arbitrator but himſelf, in a Country where he has moſt Power.

The Governour of Milan *obliges the Duke of* Savoy *to obey the K. of* Spain.

The Governour of *Milan* acts with more Efficacy. He knew that his Maſter had a mind to engroſs all the Honour of finiſhing the Affair, without allowing *France* any part in the Office. Wherefore he fits out Prince *Aſcoli* at the Head of 5000 Men to be join'd to 3000 more of the Troops of *Mantua*, commanded by *Don Vincent*, Brother to the Cardinal Duke. The Army advanced towards *Nice*, near to that of *Charles Emanuel*. Then the *Savoyards* did not doubt but the Governor ſeriouſly mean'd a punctual Execution of his Maſters Orders; ſo that there was nothing elſe for them to do, but to carry things fair. The General of the Savoyard Army ſent to tell the Prince *Aſcoli*, that, when the Duke his Maſter enter'd *Montferrat*, he did not Dream that King *Philip* wou'd engage in the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Mantua*, in Oppoſition to a Prince that had the Honour to be his Brother-in-law. " But " ſince it is ſo, continued the Envoy, my Maſters " Troops are ready to retire. I ſhall only ſay that it " is not the fear of *Mantua*'s Arms, but the reſpect " that his Highneſs has for the King of *Spain*, that " mov'd him to take up this Reſolution. He never " will imploy his Arms to thwart his Catholick Maje- " ty. *Aſcoli* anſwer'd, that he had Orders to relieve the City of *Nice*, and to oblige the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army to depart *Montferrat*. " If the General, continues " he, will march off, we ſhan't purſue him: But if " he be ſtiff and reſolve to ſtay, we ſhall quickly be in " with him.

After ſo many Tricks and Artifices, *Emmanuel* was mad, to ſee himſelf once more the ridicule of all *Europe*; and to find that he had ſpent a great deal of Mony upon Projects that were ſunk in a minute. Before he wou'd yield, he had a mind once more to try *Inoioſa*, upon whoſe

whoſe Friendſhip he had always deſerved. He propos'd to him, that he would give himſelf blindly up to the King of *Spain* againſt any Man whatſoever, providing he wou'd grant him the poſſeſſion of what he had taken. *Spain* contemn'd the Offers that ſeem'd ſo fair and advantagious to her. The Duke was reduc'd to that, that he humbly deſir'd, that while the Proceſs were not intirely decided, he might be allow'd to poſſeſs one Place as a Pledge or Proof of his Pretenſions to *Montferrat*. They were ſo far from entering into a Negotiation with the good Prince, that they ſent *Padillo* Geneneral of the Artillery, as dull a Man as any is in *Spain*, who began, by declaring to the Duke with a ſevere Look, and in brief Terms, that he muſt reſtore all. And to ſumm up all the diſcouraging Circumſtances, gave him a Letter from the King of *Spain*, which was ſhort, but very preciſe, ordering him to do all that the Marqueſs *Inoioſa* injoin'd him. 1613.

There's nothing mortifies a proud and couragious Prince more than to ſee himſelf treated as a Subject by another more powerful than himſelf. But what? poor *Emmanuel* abandon'd by all the World, was under a neceſſity of a receiving Laws from the ſtrongeſt. Inſtead of giving a poſitive anſwer to the grave *Padilla*, he diſpatch'd one of his Miniſters to *Milan*, with propoſals that tended to drill on the Affair yet longer. *Inoioſa* rejected 'em with indignation, and order'd him to tell *Charles Emmanuel*, that if he did not immediately ſurrender what he had uſurp'd, *Aſcoli* ſhould inveſt one of the Places he demanded, and the Governour himſelf would advance to the ſpot, and ſubdue whoever made Reſiſtance. The Duke not being able to put it longer off, offer'd to render and conſign all his Seiſures in *Montferrat*. I do not know but he might hope to gain more time by the Conteſt which roſe between *Inoioſa* and *Caſtiglione*. Each of 'em alledg'd the Places ſhould be reſign'd into the Hands of their reſpective Maſter: But *Caſtiglione* having only the Name and Authority of an Emperour, quickly agreed the matter with the other that had the force. The Imperial Commiſſioner got

1613. one Town for the forms ſake, and the *Spaniards* kept all the reſt. There never was an Accommodation concluded more ſuddenly then this; tho' the Duke of *Savoy* ſtarted Difficulties enow before the concluſion. This was the laſt Artifice of a Prince that wanted ſome Pretence to break it, if he found occaſion. A Treaty precipitantly ſtruck, is never well concerted. There's always ſome Evaſion left for him that has a mind to be falſe.

A Difference between the Duke of Nevers *and the Governour of* Milan.

Before the Concluſion of this Accommodation, the Duke of *Nevers*, having come, as I ſaid above, to relieve *Montferrat*, had ſome diſcourſe with the Governor of *Milan*. *Nevers* had ioyn'd Prince *Vincent* of *Mantua* with 100 or 120 French Gentlemen. Theſe Gentlemen obſerving the *Spaniſh* Conduct, murmur'd becauſe the Prince *Aſcoli* ſlip'd a fair opportunity of defeating *Savoy*'s Army. The Marquis *d' Inoioſa* was troubled that they ſhould diſcoevr his Colluſion with *Charles Emmanuel*; and ſaid openly, that he would not ſuffer French Soldiers in *Italy*, nor in *Milan*; that he would mal-treat all thoſe who ſhould paſs thro' that Province; and that if the 2000 Men whom the Duke of Guiſe was to bring into *Italy*, ſhould ſet their foot there, they ſhould be cut to pieces. The arrival of the French was ſo diſpleaſing to this *Spaniard*, that he commanded the Galleys of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Genua*, to joyn and oppoſe the paſſage of thoſe Veſſels that brought Men from *Provence*, and to hinder the French Troops to land upon the Coaſt of *Italy*. *Inoioſa* indavor'd further to give the Cardinal Duke ſome jealouſy, in giving out, that *Nevers* had a greater mind to make himſelf Maſter of *Montferrat*, than to aſſiſt the Houſe of *Mantua*.

The Duke being offended at the Arrogance and ill-nature of the Governor; ſent ſome body to tell him, that to have ſo great a retinue, was indeed too much for a Man of *Inoioſa*'s quality; but a Duke of *Nevers*; of the Houſe of Gonzague, might well have 100 or 120 Gentlemen in his Retinue. " Bating, continued he, four " or five of my Friends that came hither to ſee me, all

" the

" the reſt belong to my Retinue. If the Marquis of 1613.
" *Inoioſa* uſe any of 'em amiſs, I'll find a way to have
" Satisfaction. As for his Threats of cutting in pieces
" theſe of the *French* Nation that come to aſſiſt the Fa-
" mily of *Mantua*; 'tis preſum'd his Catholick Majeſty
" will not own any ſuch thing. There's none in the
" World that can hinder his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to
" aſſiſt his Couſin and Ally, or to oppoſe the unjuſt
" Attempts of the Duke of *Savoy*. He has a deſign, I
" know, to raiſe ſuſpicions of me, but I doubt *Inoioſa*'s
" vain Diſcourſes will make no great Impreſſion. My
" Intereſts are ſtrictly united to thoſe of the Houſe of
" *Mantua*. The Governor himſelf confirms the juſt
" Suſpicion we have of his Conduct. His averſion to
" the Cardinal Duke is ſufficiently known; and we are
" not ignorant of the Reaſons he has for favoring the D.
" of *Savoy*, contrary to his Catholick Majeſty's Intenſi-
" ons. Thus the D. of *Nevers* maintain'd the Honor of
France, more than the Regent of the Kingdom. She would not give Ear to the wiſe Remonſtrances of the Senat of *Venice*, which preſs'd her to advance her Troops to *Piemont*, and elſewhere: but gave the *Spaniard* an opportunity of engroſſing all the Honour of the Affair, and even advantaging himſelf by it, if an occaſion of-fer'd.

The Elector Palatine marries the Daughter of the K. of England.

While the greateſt part of *Europe* was in commotion upon the account of the death of *Francis* Duke of *Mantua*; *James* King of *Great Brittain*, who did not imbarque ſo much into the Affairs of *Italy*, liv'd peaceably in his *Iſland*. He thought of nothing but diverting himſelf, and regaling his People with fine ſhews, after their Affliction by the Death of *Henry*. One would have ſaid, that the Father had a mind inſenſibly to deface the Memory of a Son, that, a few days before, was the Darling of *England*. Inſtead of inquiring after the ſecret of *Henry*'s ſudden Death, he threw freſh favors into the lap of the unworthy Favourite, that was deem'd for the Author. *Robert Carr* Viſcount of *Rocheſter* was made Earl of *Summerſet*; an extraordinary Title, which had never been given to any, but the Princes of the

Larrey Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. 2. 1622.

1613. Blood of *England*, or at leaſt to the King's neareſt Couſins on the Mother's ſide. The Favorite afterwards married *Francis Howard* Counteſs of *Eſſex*, famous for her Crimes and Adventures. Would it be cenſur'd as a raſh Judgment, if I ſaid, that the good King look'd upon himſelf as a Man luckily reviv'd after the Death of his Son, of whom he was jealous? His Jealouſy was well known by that word that ſlip'd from him, *What! would they bury me alive?* An Expreſſion that the World could not but think of, when they ſaw the Prince of *Wales* die ſo ſoon after.

French Mercury, 1613. The occaſion of the extraordinary Feſtivals in England, was the Marriage of Princeſs *Elizabeth* the King's Daughter to *Frederick* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*. The Alliance did mightily pleaſe both the *Engliſh*, and all Proteſtants. The Houſe of *Auſtria* had taken a great deal of pains to prevent it; and the Queen, whom the Court of *Madrid* had gain'd, indeavor'd to diſſwade the King her Husband from it. But at laſt 'twas concluded, notwithſtanding all the *Spaniſh* Intrigues. *James* gave the Elector the Order of the Garter, before the Solemnity of the Marriage. The Illuſtrious *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* was receiv'd into that noble and ancient Society, at the ſame time with *Frederick* his Nephew. The Chapter of the Order was call'd together at *Windſor* on the 14th. of *Feburary* this year; and the Ceremony was perform'd with all imaginable Solemnity. The Elector *Palatin*, being then in *England*, negotiating his Marriage, receiv'd the Order in his own Perſon: But *Maurice* being abſent, receiv'd it in the Perſon of Count *William* of *Naſſau* his Proxey. Ten Days after *Frederick* married Princeſs *Elizabeth*. The Feſtival was uſher'd in and follow'd by Games and magnificent Shows.

Holland likewiſe continued their Rejoycing for ſome time. Prince *Maurice*, in the preſence of the States General, receiv'd the Garter that was brought him by the Herald of the Order; and there was nothing omitted that could contribute to brighten the Ceremony. The

Sage

Sage *Barnevelt*, Penſioner of the Province of *Holland*, return'd Thanks in the name of the States General to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, who preſented the Garter to Prince *Maurice* in his Maſter's Name. Next *May* the new Electoreſs went from *England* to *Holland* in her way to *Heidelberg*; and was receiv'd in almoſt all the Towns of the Province, eſpecially in *Amſterdam*, with a Magnificence ſuitable to their Riches, and to the memory they retain'd of the great Aſſiſtance their Infant Republick had formerly receiv'd from the Crown of *England*. 1613

A talk of marrying the P. of Wales *with* Chriſtina *of* France.

The Proteſtants hop'd that the Marriage of the Elector Palatin to the Princeſs of *Great Brittain*, would be extreamly conducive to the Intereſt of Religion. There remain'd ſtill one thing to be wiſh'd for; that was, That King *James* would quit his Deſign of marrying his Heir to a Princeſs of the Popiſh Communion. But, notwithſtanding that his Britannick Majeſty did publickly treat the Pope as Antichriſt, he never had an ardent and unfeigned Zeal for ſetling the Reformation. Prince *Henry* was no ſooner in his Grave, but King *James* propos'd the Marriage of *Charles* his Second Son, then Prince of *Wales*, to *Chriſtina* the ſecond Daughter of *France*. The Regent did gladly receive the Memorial to that effect given in to *Villeroy*, Secretary of State, by the Ambaſſador from *England*. She hop'd that the Proteſtants in *France*, and elſewhere, that had taken the Alarm upon the Double Marriage with *Spain*, would be appeas'd by ſeeing, That the new Project did not ſo alienate the Crown of *France* from Proteſtant Alliances, but that they ſtill thought of making a ſtrict Alliance with the moſt powerful Prince of the Proteſtant Communion, by giving in Marriage to his Heir the King's Second Siſter. Notwithſtanding that the Conduct of *Mary de Medicis* in this Affair was full of Artifices and Diſſimulation; yet the Court of *Rome* took Umbrage upon the Head, and the Pope ply'd with all his might to diſſwade the Regent from liſtning to his Britannick Majeſty's Offers. His Holineſs roundly told *Breves* the King's

Siri Mem. Rec. tom. 3. p. 44, 45.

1613. Ambaſſador, that he took it very ill, that ſhe would think of mingling the Royal Blood of *France* with that of a Heretick. *Breves* was fain to repreſent to the Pope, That the Good of the State and of Religion it ſelf, oblig'd her not to reject the King of *England*'s Propoſal. But the Old Gentleman being devoted to *Spain*, did not mind that. He ſtill went on to conjure the Queen, to avoid entring into a Negotiation ſo prejudicial to the Church; that is to ſay, in the Language of theſe Gentlemen, ſo unſuitable to the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*.

The Nuncio *Ubaldini* was likewiſe very buſie in *France*: He tir'd the Queen with his Remonſtrances; he ſtrain'd hard to find out the moſt preſſing Arguments of Piety and Religion; and, in fine, inflam'd a Cabal of Bigots, who never fail to be both numerous and powerful in an ignorant and ſuperſtitious Court: "Is it poſſible, Madam, ſaid the Italian Prelat to the "Queen, that your Majeſty is ſo little ſenſible of the "particular Favours God has done you? It is a di"ſtruſting of his Providence, to have recourſe to a "Heretical Alliance; as if 'twere neceſſary for the "Peace and Preſervation of your Son's Kingdom. "Your Miniſters are of Opinion, that ye ſhould ac"cept of the Offers of a Heretical Prince; and "your Majeſty depends upon that. But that will not "ſuffice to juſtifie you before God and all good Peo"ple, who deteſt theſe Politicks. Ye ſhould rather "liſten to the Voice of your Conſcience, and the Pope's "good Counſel, than to the vain Speculations of a "Council, which takes its meaſures from the Pruden"tial Maxims of the Children of the Age, and not "from thoſe of Religion.

Upon this occaſion the Haranguer advanc'd a Principle of his own Goſpel, which deſerves to be taken nople of. He proves that theſe pretended good People, whom he would have the Queen to fear, do truly entertain that corrupt Principle, That the Princes of their Communion are not obliged to ſtand to Treaties made with

with thoſe they are pleas'd to call Heriticks, if the Terms appear to be never ſo little contrary to their Religion, that is, to the Court of *Rome*. " 'Tis true, " Madam, continu'd the Nuncio, that promiſes made " againſt the Intereſt of God do not oblige us at all, " and are by no means to be obſerv'd. But conſider " that your Majeſty will one day have more Trouble " in departing from your Word to the King of *Eng-* " *land*, than now you wou'd have in rejecting his Pro- " poſal. Your Affairs are now, thanks be to God, " in a better Condition than ever they were ſince the " Death of the King your Husband. The Kingdom " has maintain'd its Peace, without the Help of ſuch " an Alliance. The time of your Adminiſtration will " quickly expire. What comfort will it be for you, to " reſign *France* into the hands of the King your Son, in " a better condition then you receiv'd it, without hav- " ing carried your Politicks beyond the Boundaries of " Conſciencie, or the Intereſt of Religion! Theſe e- laborate Diſcourſes made no great Impreſſion upon the Queen. She coldly anſwer'd Mr. *Nuncio*, That all the Members of her Council, bating Marſhal *Bou- illon*, were good Catholicks; and knew beſt, what was moſt conducive to the Good of the State and the true Intereſt of Religion. " Beſides, continued her Ma- " jeſty, I do nothing upon this occaſion, but what " ſome Princes of *Italy* have done as well as I, and " that juſt under the Popes Noſe. The great Dutch- " eſs of *Tuſcany*, with all her Devotion; did ſhe re- " ject the Motion of marrying her Daughter to Prince " of *Wales*?

1613.

Of all the Proteſtants, the United Princes in *Ger- many* flatter'd themſelves moſt with Advantage from the new Alliance of the Elector Palatine to the Crown of *England*. They hop'd that K. *James* wou'd vigorouſly ſupport the League, of which *Frederic* his Son-in-law was the Head. After the Conteſt, occaſion'd by the ſucceſſion of *Cleves* & *Juliers*, the animoſities between the Catholics and Proteſtants in *Germany* were inflam'd, each Party fortified themſelves, and form'd Enterpriſes one againſt

1613. another. *Rodolph*'s weak Head had contributed much to this misfortune. *Matthias* his Brother and Succeſſour was willing to have apply'd ſome remedy in the beginning of his Reign. But he wanted both Force, and the neceſſary Qualifications of Mind, to reconcile ſuch different Intereſts, or to procure to himſelf an equal Reſpect from Princes that jarr'd with one another, upon the account of their reciprocal Grudges. It is poſſible the Emperour had no ill Deſign againſt the Proteſtants, at leaſt he ſeem'd to indeavor to imitate the Moderation of *Maximilian* his Father. But he wanted Sagacity and Conſtancy of Mind, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be overreach'd by the Artifices of the Court of *Rome*, and the Catholick Party. The late Incurſions of the Turks, ſeem'd to threaten *Matthias* with an approaching War. This oblig'd him to keep fair with both Parties, ſince the Aſſiſtance of either was equally neceſſary for making Head againſt ſo formidable an Enemy. The Proteſtants thought themſelves obliged to make uſe of this occaſion to improve their Condition, and enſure the Repoſe of their Churches.

The Catholicks and Proteſtants complain mutually of one another.

Matthias, at his Coronation, had promis'd to call a Diet for concerting Meaſures to preſerve the Peace and Tranquility of the Empire, and to redreſs the Diſorders that ſeveral Members had long complain'd of. Accordingly it was appointed to meet at *Ratiſbone*. The Emperor, and the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors were there; but the other Electors only ſent Commiſſioners. *Lewis* Landgrave of *Heſſe*, in a long Harangue, held forth the Reaſons that mov'd the Emperor to call the *Diet*. Five of 'em related to the particular Government of the Empire, and the ſixth was grounded on the Turks Incurſions into the Kingdom of *Hungary*. His Imperial Majeſty being ſenſible of the Neceſſity of making a vigorous Oppoſition to the ſame, deſir'd they would ſpeedily grant him certain Contributions to that effect. But before they enter'd into the Conſideration of the Emperor's Propoſals, the United Proteſtant Princes, who were then call'd *Correſpondents*, preſented ſeveral Grievances, which they had

had complain'd of in the former Reign, but got them not redreſſed. It is needleſs to recount 'em in this place. 'Twas in vain that the Emperor endeavour'd to elude the Demands of the *Correſpondents*, and to put off the Examination of that Affair to another time. They perſiſted to averr, that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould, in the firſt place, do them Juſtice, as to their Grievances. 1613.

The Catholick Princes being convinc'd of the Juſtice of the Pretenſions of their Adverſaries, were of Opinion, that without regard to the Complaints of the United Proteſtants, they ſhould forthwith proceed to conſider the Articles propos'd by the Emperor, *The Conſideration*, ſaid they, *of ſome few Particulars ought not to take Place of the Publick Good, when the Circumſtances are preſſing.* They were ſure of the Plurality of Voices on their ſide, and wou'd fain have paſs'd their Orders as the Reſolutions of a *Diet.* In that Poſture of Affairs there was nothing more prejudicial to the Repoſe and Tranquility of the Empire. Upon that foot the Proteſtants in *Germany* had quickly been undone. The Catholicks alſo maliciouſly inſinuated to the Emperor, that the Proteſtants conceal'd their ill Deſigns; and that it was to be fear'd they would diſpute his Majeſty's Lawful Authority. Soon after they preſented a long Cartel of Complaints againſt the Proteſtants, in which they charg'd 'em with ſeveral Infringements of the Treaty of Pacification formerly made at *Paſſaw*, and divers Interprizes contrary to the Conſtitutions of the Empire. So that the Catholicks in their turn demanded Juſtice from the Imperial Majeſty. It's an old Trick in theſe Gentlemen to cry out Injuſtice and Oppreſſion upon theſe very Men whom they trouble and perſecute. Not to ſuffer them to be Maſters, is to perſecute them. Then the Pope throws out Jubilees and Indulgences with both his Hands, to pray for the Deliverance of his own Flock from unjuſt Oppreſſion; tho' at the ſame time they live in a perfect Tranquility.

The

1613.
The bad Succeſs of the Diet at Ratisbone.

The Emperor finding himſelf incapable to reconcile the two Parties that jarr'd more and more, endeavour'd to avoid the Examination of the Complaints preſented to him on either ſide. He propos'd to put it off till another time, and in the mean while demanded Aſſiſtance for the Preſervation of *Hungary*, where *Bethlem Gabor*, *alias Gabriel* Bethlem, the new Prince of *Tranſylvania*, being back'd by the *Turks*, was become formidable. The Proteſtants anſwer'd, that they did not doubt his Majeſty's good Will to them, and were ready to contribute both Men and Mony for the Defence of his Majeſty's Hereditary Countries. But they would not deſiſt from their Demand, that the Peace and Tranquility of the Empire ſhould firſt be re-eſtabliſh'd, and that Orders ſhould be given for redreſſing the Grievances they preſented. The Archduke *Maximilian*, Brother to the Emperor, a Prince of a ſweet and moderate Temper, was then at *Ratisbone*. *Matthias* pray'd him to uſe his Intereſt with the Proteſtants, hoping that he might be able to gain them. But notwithſtanding that they teſtify'd a great Deference to the Archduke, yet he could obtain nothing of 'em. The Catholicks thinking to make the Emperor more favorable, reſolv'd to act a liberal and well-affected Part. They promis'd to advance the ancient Contributions for the War againſt the *Turks*, for two Years. The Proteſtants formally oppos'd this Reſolve, having determin'd not to ſuffer the Reſolutions of the Catholicks, to be look'd upon as Decrees of the whole Diet of the Empire. And this was the Upſhot of the Diet at *Ratisbone*. Inſtead of remedying the Diſorders of *Germany*, it inflam'd 'em, and render'd 'em almoſt incurable.

The Fortune of Bethlem Gabor *Prince of* Tranſylvania.

Since *Bethlem Gabor* is often brought upon the Stage in this Hiſtory; I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay ſomething of his Fortune and Education. He is one of the moſt dangerous Enemies to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that this Age has afforded. In order likewiſe to give a plainer Account of the Emperor's Pretenſions on *Tranſylvania*,

Tranſylvania, I ſhall draw the Story further back. The Brave *Stephen Battori* was the firſt that was declar'd Prince of *Tranſylvania* under the Protection of the *Ottomans*. After his Preferment to the Kingdom of *Poland*, he caus'd *Chriſtophle* his Brother to be choſen for the Principality of *Tranſylvania*. *Sigiſmund* Son and Succeſſor to *Chriſtophle* being over-perſwaded by the Emiſſaries of the Houſe of *Auſtria* about him, took another Courſe. He did not want Courage, but he ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſwaded that it was more honourable and more his Intereſt to quit the Alliance of the *Sultan*, and joyn in with the Emperor. But, to the Diſgrace of Chriſtianity, *Sigiſmund* found it otherwiſe; he met with leſs Juſtice and Fidelity in thoſe of his Religion, than his Uncle and Father had found among the Infidels. In order to joyn himſelf more intimately to the Emperor he marry'd a Princeſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but that Marriage was the Cauſe of all the Misfortunes of his Life. He was reduc'd to quit *Tranſylvania* for ſome Dutchies they granted him. Afterwards he repented of the falſe Steps he had made, and retracted the Reſignation to the Emperor, and gave his Principality to Cardinal *Battori* his Brother, who got himſelf elected by the Eſtates of the Country under the Protection of the Grand Seigneur. The new Prince had a hard War to maintain with the Emperor, and loſt his Life in it. 1613.

Botskai his Couſin being afterwards choſen by the *Tranſylvanians*, maintain'd his Poſt with ſo much Courage and Succeſs, that he took from the Emperor ſeveral Places in *High Hungary*. The Houſe of *Auſtria* was content to make Peace with him. One Article of the Treaty was, that, if *Botskai* dy'd without Male-Children, *Tranſylvania* ſhould return to the Emperor. The *Sultan* ratify'd this Treaty, in another, which he concluded with *Rodolph*. The Houſe of *Auſtria* did not wait long till they demanded *Tranſylvania* by Vertue of this Agreement; for *Botskai* was poyſon'd immediatly after by his Chancellor. The Eſtates of the Country did not fail to elect *Sigiſmund Rogotſi* for their Prince. French Mercury 1607.

The

1613. The Diviſions in the Houſe of *Auſtria* were ſo great, and the Commotions of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* ſo preſſing, that neither *Rodolph* nor his Brother *Matthias* were in a Condition to ply the Execution of the Treaty with *Botskai*. The new Prince did not enjoy *Tranſylvania* long. He generouſly reſign'd it to *Gabriel Batiori* Heir of that Family, whom the *Turks* did openly ſupport.

French Mercury 1613. *Bethlem Gabor*, a Gentleman of *Tranſylvania*, a Man of a boundleſs Ambition, render'd himſelf odious by his Cruelties, but took care to inſure the Favor and Protection of the *Ottoman* Court. Whereupon he forms a puiſſant Party againſt *Battori*, and makes War with him. *Battori* found no Benefit by the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He was ſoon reduc'd to the laſt Point of Deſpair, inſomuch that he deſir'd his own Friends to kill him. But his Enemies Soldiers did him the Favor, that the others refus'd. Three days after his Death, *Bethlem* was declar'd Prince of *Tranſylvania*, by the General of the *Turkiſh* Army, who at that time was making an Irruption into *Hungary*. The Eſtates of the Country aſſembled at *Claſſembourg*, elected him for the Form's Sake, upon theſe Terms, that he ſhould deſire the *Sultan*'s Confirmation. As ſoon as *Bethlem* was poſſeſs'd of his new Principality, he wrote a very fair Letter to the Palatin of *Hungary* to deſire the Emperor's Favor. But his Majeſty had a mind to purſue his Pretenſions to *Tranſylvania*, by Vertue of the Treaty with *Botskai*, which the *Sultan* had ratify'd. *Matthias* declar'd his Mind publickly at the Diet at *Ratisbone*. And 'twas chiefly upon this Account that he demanded Supplies from the Eſtates of the Empire. With this view the Houſe of *Auſtria* egg'd on *Batori*'s Party, which refus'd to own the new Prince. *Bethlem*, being protected by the *Turks*, whom he manag'd very cunningly, did not only make good his Pretenſions in *Tranſylvania*; but was even upon the Point of taking *Hungary* from thoſe that pretended to thwart him.

The

1613.

The Catholick and Proteſtant Leagues were fomr'd in *Germany*, upon the occaſion of a Difference happening through the Succeſſion of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. The Princes of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* joyntly govern'd theſe Dutchies, and that peaceably for ſome Years, by Vertue of the Proteſtant League. The Places of Strength were keep'd by equal Gariſons; the two Princes liv'd in the ſame Palace, and all was done by mutual Conſent. But how difficult is it, for a State to be ſo govern'd long, without Diviſions? Princes of different Houſes, and different Religions, have neither the ſame Intereſts, nor the ſame Deſigns. They began to buſtle about the Church-Eſtates. *Brandenbourg* would have order'd ſomething without his Collegue's Conſent, and *Newbourg* oppos'd it. The King of Great *Britain* and the States of the *United Provences* interpos'd for a Reconciliation. 'Twas fear'd their Diviſion might give the Houſe of *Auſtria* an Opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of theſe Countries, which they fancy'd to lye ſo commodiouſly for them. In order to prevent the further Increaſe of their Miſunderſtanding, their equal Friends propos'd a Marriage between the two Houſes.

The Houſes of Brandenbourg *and* Newbourg *divided about* Cleves *and* Juliers.

Interet des Princes par M. Rohan. p. 1. Diſc. 4.

French Mercury 1613.

Newbourg conſented willingly. Prince *Wolfgang* goes to wait upon the Duke of *Brandenbourg*, and ask his Daughter in Marriage. Tho' this Motion was the Effect of the Counſels of thoſe who deſign'd only to ſettle a good Correſpondence between the two

1613. two Families: Yet it was the occaſion of an implacable hatred betwixt 'em, and of the Diviſion of two handſome Dutchies, which might have been entirely poſſeſs'd in Partnerſhip. I do not know how it came to paſs that in the middle of the Feaſt, and in the Heat of Wine, *Newbourg* ſpoke ſomething at the Elector's Table that did not pleaſe him. Matters went on ſo high, that *Brandenbourg* being in a mighty Paſſion, gave a box of the Ear to him that ſought his Alliance. After all, the Caſe was not paſt Cure, if the Elector would have given any ſuitable Satisfaction. He always ſtiffly refuſed it. *Volfgang* being provok'd by the Affront, returns to *Cleves* with a deſign to be reveng'd at any rate. After that time *Brandenburg* and *Newbourg* did nothing jointly, in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. They ſtickl'd at the leaſt thing, and the one diſannull'd what the other enjoin'd.

Prince Volfgang *of* Newburg *marries a Siſter of* Bavaria, *and changes his Religion.*

The *Spaniards* cunningly made uſe of this fair occaſion to weaken the Proteſtant League and gain the Houſe of *Newburg*. They caus'd a Propoſal to be made to Prince *Volfgang*, of a Marriage with *Magdalen*, Siſter to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, and to *Ferdinand* Elector of *Calogne*. They promiſe him the protection of the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the Intereſt of the Catholick League, if he would change his Religion: A great Temptation for a young Prince, that dream'd of nothing but Vengeance for the outragious Affront he had receiv'd. *Newburg* agrees to it: But *Volf-*

gang

gang would not renounce his Religion before his Marriage; either becauſe he would wheedle his Old Father that was zealous for the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, or for ſome other Reaſon. He conſented only to marry Princeſs *Magdalen*, and the Duke of *Neubourg* gave his Conſent, without ſpying the Snare they had laid for his Son when blinded by his Paſſion. The Ceremony of the Marriage was obſerv'd, at *Munich*, the 10*th* of *November* this year. To keep a little fair abroad, the Prince did not Marry at the Maſs; he only receiv'd the Nuptial Benediction by the Hands of the Biſhop of *Aichſtat*, at the Evening Prayers in the Capital Church of *Munich*. In *May* following *Volfgang* declar'd, and publickly profeſs'd the Popiſh Religion at *Duſſeldorp*. The Duke his Father was mightily griev'd. The order he forthwith publiſh'd is a convincing Proof. 'Twas, that every Munday of the Year publick Prayers ſhould be ſaid for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion in *Newburg*. 1613.

The Artifices and Tricks of the Duke of *Savoy*, oblige us to return often to him. The Treaty of Peace between *Charles Emmanuel* and Cardinal *Ferdinand* Duke of *Mantua*, had been concluded with ſuch Precipitancy, that there was only mention made of the conſigning of the Places taken in *Monferrat*, without mentioning the reciprocal Pretenſions of the two contending Parties, or the Reparation of Damages done in *Monferrat*, which *Ferdinand* pleaded for, or the Indemnity required by the Duke of *Savoy*, for the Subjects of the Houſe of

The difficulties in keeping the Peace between Savoy and Mantua.

Nani Hiſt. Ven. l. 1. 1613.

1613. of *Mantua* that had declar'd for him. Theſe things being unadjuſted, the Conteſts reviv'd in courſe. Neither were the Princes of *Italy* very well ſatisfied with an informal Peace, ſubject to a thouſand Pleas for Ruptures. It was fancy'd, and that with likelihood enough, that the Marquis *Inoioſa* had made it, becauſe he could not avoid obeying the poſitive Orders of the King his Maſter. And it was ſtill fear'd that there was a Colluſion between him and the Duke of *Savoy*, and that both of 'em had ſome hidden Deſign. At the ſame time that *Charles Emmanuel* was ſurrendring the Places of *Montferrat*, he reinforc'd his Troops, and the Governor of *Milan* continued in Arms. The *Venetians* obſerv'd all thoſe ſtops, tho' the moſt Sagacious could not fathom the Secret; and took care to continue to the Cardinal Duke the Supply they had given in the Beginning of the Quarrel, and to be themſelves upon their Guard. They began to be at a variance with *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* Archduke of *Gratz*, who was extreamly united to the Court of *Madrid*; and therefore began to diſtruſt the King of *Spain*. The difference was occaſion'd by the *Uſcoques*, Pyrats and Robbers on the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*, whom the Archduke openly protected, notwithſtanding that the *Venetians* and *Turks* did equally complain of their Robberies. The Sequel of this Hiſtory will preſent you with a fuller account of this difference, which has made the *Uſcoques* to be known in the World.

When

When the *Italians* conſider'd the buſineſs of *Montferrat*, that which amus'd 'em moſt was, that the Governour of *Milan*, who ſeem'd to have a good underſtanding with the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould importune the Duke ſo much to disband his Army very ſpeedily; and at the ſame time when he was fighting againſt him, ſhould offer to oblige *Ferdinand* to do what the *Savoyard* deſir'd moſt. Theſe Motions have a ſeeming contrariety, but they are eaſily reconcil'd. *Spain* meant to make advantage of the Difference: His Catholick Majeſty took upon him to controul and give Laws to the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, according to his own Intereſt: The Governour of *Milan* was unwilling to go to the charge of keeping an Army on foot, in order to oppoſe, if need was, the Enterpriſes of the Duke of *Savoy*; and therefore continually importun'd him to disband his Troops: And becauſe 'twas his Maſter's intereſt to have the Heireſs of *Montferrat* at his diſpoſal, he demanded her of the Cardinal Duke, with a haughty enough Carriage. Thus the Intrigue is unriddled. Now we'll ſee how the two Parties get clear of the Catholick King's Demands. *Inoioſa* had diſpatch'd for *Turin* the Commander of the Caſtle of *Milan*, to tell the Duke, in a maſterly way, that he muſt immediately do what he requir'd. *Charles Emmanuel* was very impatient under this imperious Treatment, which the *Spaniards* gave to him and all the other Soveraigns of *Italy*; tho' indeed he had been inur'd to it for ſeveral Years. But being uncapable to make an open reſiſtance to K. *Philip*'s Will, as his cuſtom was, he hunted for Pretences to put him off. There never was a Genius more fertile of ſuch Inventions, than that of this Prince.

1613

The Governour of Milan *urges the D. of* Savoy *to disband.*

The Anſwer he gave to the Meſſage was, that he was ready to disband his Troops, as ſoon as the Marquiſs *d'Inoioſa* would perform the ſecret Articles agreed to by the Cardinal Duke of *Mantua* at the time of the Treaty he made with him. *The Governour*, ſaid *Charles Emmanuel*, *aſſur'd me poſitively that the Cardinal Duke was willing to return my Grand-child* Mary *into my hands; and to grant a general Indempnity to all the Subjects of* Montferrat *that declar'd for me.*

The Duke of Savoy's *pretence for not diſbanding.*

1613 *me. Now, is it not juſt that I ſhould continue in Arms 'till that be put in Execution?* All the World was amaz'd, when the Duke's Anſwer was make publick. The Cardinal *Ferdinand* denied that ever he had promis'd any thing like it. Nay, he pretended that *Inoioſa* had told him the quite contrary. No body knew what to think of the Myſtery. Some ſaid, the Governour of *Milan*, having receiv'd Preſents from the Duke as well as from *Ferdinand*, had cheated 'em both; firſt the Duke, in telling him what I mention'd but now, and then the Cardinal in promiſing the clear contrary, *viz.* that the *Savoyard* would not redemand his Daughter, and requir'd no Indemnity for the Subjects of *Montferrat* that ſided with him. *Inoioſa* was mightily incens'd, that the Duke ſhould expoſe him for a Cheat. All that he had to ſay in his own Juſtification, was, that *Charles Emmanuel* had formerly plaid ſuch Tricks. In his Negotiations with the Miniſters of *Henry* IV. and ſeveral of the moſt noted Men at the Court of *France*, he had oftentimes averr'd, that many things were promis'd to him in private Conferences, that were never dreamt of.

Let the Intrigue lye as it will; If the Governor of *Milan* did ſay ſuch Words to the Duke, he did not much trouble himſelf about it afterwards. However *Inoioſa* continu'd to importune the Duke to diſarm. Then he was at work for other pretences; *France*, ſaid he, *has Troops in* Dauphiny: *The Marſhal* Leſdiguieres *waits only for the Regent's laſt Orders, to march into* Piemont. *Will not his Catholick Majeſty allow me to be upon my Guard?* The crafty Duke knew well enough, that *Mary de Medicis* was extremely well ſatisfied that the Houſes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* ſhould make Peace, without giving her the occaſion of ſending her Troops beyond the Mountains; and that ſhe had not the leaſt thought of *Leſdiguieres* his marching into *Piemont*. The Regent alſo for her part had deſir'd he ſhould disband his Troops: And he had anſwer'd that the *Spaniards* were his Enemies, and that 'twas but prudential for him to be in a Capacity to reſiſt thoſe who reſented his League with the late King. *Vargas* Secretary to his Catholick Majeſty,

fty, having diſpatch'd his Maſter's buſineſs in *Italy*, was juſt upon the point of returning to *Madrid*, when he receiv'd new Orders to paſs thro' *Turin*, and know the Duke's laſt Reſolution. This Viſit perplex'd the Duke leſs than all the reſt. He made a ſhew of disbanding his Troops in his Preſence: But 'twas only the Militia of his own Country that he diſmiſs'd, which he could raiſe again in an inſtant. 'Twas enough for him that he kept up the forreign Troops which were upon his Pay. The reaſon why he plaid all theſe little Tricks, ſo unworthy of a Man of his quality, is obvious. His Spies in *France*, had given him notice, that the Prince of *Conde* and the other Male-contents would quickly ſhew their Heads, and that a Civil War would ſpeedily inſue. Now *Charles Emmanuel* hop'd to make uſe of this Opportunity to retrieve his Affairs in *Italy*, or upon the Borders of *France*. But the poor Duke was always equally fruſtrated in his hopes, and unhappy in his Intrigues and Artifices. 1613

Nani. Hiſt. Veneta. Lib. 1. 1613.

The Cardinal Duke would have taken pleaſure to ſee his Enemy ſo netled by the *Spaniards*, had not the Governonr of *Milan* vex'd him, as much as he did the Duke of *Savoy*. *Inoioſa* requir'd that *Ferdinand* ſhould ſend his Niece to *Milan*. The *Venetians* advis'd *Ferdinand* to make anſwer, that with reference to all the differences with the Duke of *Savoy*, and particularly that relating to the Princeſs, he was ready to ſtand to the Judgment of the Pope, the Emperor, and his Catholick Majeſty. But the *Spaniard* had a mind that in this arbitration *Philip* ſhould have neither a Superior nor a Companion. Tho' his Imperial Majeſty had ſent him word by the Prince *de Caſtiglione*, that he ſhould treat the Soveraigns of *Italy* more gently and civilly; yet without any regard to the Meſſage, the Governour ſent *Pimentel*, General of the Horſe in the *Milaneſe*, to demand in the King of *Spain*'s Name, that the young Princeſs ſhould be ſent immediately to *Milan* to be bred up there. *Pimentel* repreſented to the Cardinal Duke, that *Philip* would take care of the Education of his Niece; that ſince the repoſe of *Italy* depended in ſome mea-

The Governour of Milan demands the Princeſs of Mantua for the K. of Spain. Nani. Hiſt. Ven. l. 1. 1613. *Siri. Mem. Recond.* Tom. 3. p. 123, 126, 127, &c.

1613 ſure upon her Settlement, 'twas his Majeſty's buſineſs to take care of the Preſervation of their Peace, and in order to that to make ſure of the young Princeſs; for if ſhe ſhould be Married to one that the neighbouring Princeſs ſhould dislike, it would perhaps occaſion a War. *Pimentel* concluded his Remonſtrance, in giving *Ferdinand* to know, that if he did not part with his Niece willingly, ſhe would be taken from him by open force. The *Cardinal* Duke anſwer'd in his uſual form, that he could do nothing in it without the conſent of the Emperour and the Queen of *France*. *Pimentel* was not ſatisfied with this anſwer. So they told him the Princeſs was not well; and becauſe he would not believe 'em, he was brought to ſee her, in order to convince him that ſhe was not in a condition to be tranſported. Then *Ferdinand* parted with him in as fair Terms as he could.

The King of Spain's *deſign in his Meſſage.*

There was no difficulty in penetrating into the deſigns of the Court of *Madrid*. The *Cardinal* Duke, and Don *Vincent* his Brother, had ſo impair'd their health by exceſſive debaucheries, that it was not believ'd they wou'd ever have Children, or live long. To keep *Montferrat* within the Family of *Gonzague*, it was neceſſary to Marry the Princeſs to the Son of the Duke of *Nevers*, the unconteſted Heir to the Dutcheſs of *Mantua*. This the Court of *Madrid* meant to thwart. The King of *Spain* pretended to make himſelf Maſter of the Territories of the Houſe of *Mantua*, for fear they ſhould one day fall into the hands of a Prince, whoſe Birth and Affections were on the *French* ſide; by reaſon of the great Eſtate and conſiderable Alliances he had in *France*. The certainty of this deſign was plainly made to appear. For *Ferdinand* being dangerouſly ill at this time, the Miniſters of *Spain* had drawn up a new Scheme, to declare that the Duke of *Nevers* had forfeited his right of ſucceſſion to *Mantua*, and to get the inveſtiture of the Dutchie given by the Emperour, to whom the Houſe of *Auſtria* thought fit; as if the Male-line of the *Gonzagues* had been intirely extinct.

The

The *Cardinal* Duke of *Mantua* had neither a sufficient genius, nor experience in Affairs, to work through all these intrigues. But he supplyed his other imperfections by his docility and deference to the good advice that the Senate of *Venice* carefully gave him. These refin'd Politicians were extreamly jealous, that the *Spaniards* thought of nothing less than swallowing up all *Italy*. The Republick did not content themselves in assisting *Ferdinand* with their advice and forces, or encouraging him bravely to maintain the interests of his Family; but likewise sent pressing Orders to their Ambassadours at *Rome* to intercede effectually with the Pope, Emperour, and Queen of *France*, on *Ferdinand*'s behalf. The Ministers of the most Christian King, and those of the Republick, represented to *Paul* V. That his Character of being the common Father indispensably oblig'd him to prevent the bad Consequences of the *Spanish* designs. But the senseless Pope did not mind 'em. He applyed himself only to the peaceable injoyment of the advantages of the Papacy, all the rest of his days; and wou'd have seen all the Princes of *Italy* groan under oppression, without offering to stir; providing his own repose were not disturb'd, and that his Nephews had the liberty of enriching themselves at pleasure. *Breves* the Ambassadour of *France* was so incens'd at this negligence, whether natural or affected, that he wrote to *Mary de Medicis*, that the Pope was nothing else but a piece of flesh that grew fat in idleness, a man without courage or experience, who thought of nothing but to make the best advantage of the highest dignity in the Church, which chance alone had brought him, without a sufficient sense of merit to embolden him to pretend to't: So that 'twas not to be expected that his Holiness wou'd give the least relief to the House of *Mantua*. All that *Paul* V. could do, was to whisper softly in the Ear of the *Cardinal* Duke, desiring him to persist in refusing to surrender his Niece, or to Marry *Margaret* his Sister-in-Law, as the King of *Spain* had desir'd him:

1613

The Venetians thwart the designs of the King of Spain.

Nani. Hist. Veneta. lib. 1. 1613.

Siri. Mem. Recond. Tom. 3. pag. 133. 167.

1613 him: So much was the timorous old Man afraid of offending the Court of *Madrid*. It was poſſible too, that the Pope being inform'd of the peaceable humour of *Philip* III. and the weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, did juſtly apprehend that all this noiſe was only an intrigue of the Catholick King's Miniſters; and that when their Maſter found himſelf menac'd with a War with *France*, he wou'd put a ſtop to his Miniſters forwardneſs, and diſpoſe them to give Ear to Reaſon.

Mary de Medicis *in trouble about the affair of* Mantua.

As for the Emperour, there was leſs to be expected from him than from his Holineſs. Beſides that *Matthias* was neither in a condition nor in the humour to ſend Troops into *Italy*, he durſt not too openly diſoblige the Court of *Madrid*. His Imperial Majeſty indeed confirm'd to the *Cardinal* Duke the Guardianſhip of his Niece, but he forthwith wrote to King *Philip* to excuſe himſelf, becauſe he could not handſomely deny *Ferdinand* that Favour. And to make the *Spaniards* amends, he adviſed *Ferdinand* to put the Princeſs *Mary* into the hands of his Catholick Majeſty. So that the Houſe of *Mantua* cou'd expect no relief, but only from *France*. Their Couſins and Friends there ſolicited on their behalf with all their might. The Ambaſſadours of the Republick of *Venice*, and thoſe of ſome other States imploy'd likewiſe their intereſt to the ſame effect. *Mary de Medicis* was ſenſible enough of the Reaſons alledg'd to her; to exhort her to take in her Nephew's under the Protection of her Son: The intereſt of Blood jump'd with the Reaſons of State. But the timorous Regent could not reſolve upon't. She was ſo prepoſſeſs'd for the double Marriage with *Spain*, which ſhe carri'd on with ſo much application, and which ſhe look'd upon as the greateſt ſupport of her authority; that ſhe fear'd the buſineſs of *Mantua* wou'd make a Rupture between the two Crowns, and ſo all her Project wou'd be unſowed. She was diſtruſtful of the Solicitations of the King of Great *Britain*, the Republick of *Venice*, the States of the United Provinces,

Siri. Mem. Recond. Tom. 3. p. 145.

Ibid. 174.

the

the Prince of *Conde*, and the Lords of his party, for ſending Troops into *Italy*. Her apprehenſion went ſo far as to diſcover, that all theſe People wanted only to engage *France* to make open oppoſition to the deſigns at the Court of *Madrid*, to declare War againſt the King of *Spain*, and by conſequence to break the Treaty of the double Marriage, all which did not ſuit with her intereſt. 1613

In this quandary *Mary de Medicis* imploy'd her intereſt at the Court of *Madrid* to get the buſineſs of *Mantua* ſpeedily and amicably determin'd. But the *Spaniards*, who knew her diſpoſition, endeavour'd to amuſe her with fair words, while in the mean time they were working with all their might to compaſs their own ends. *Philip*'s Miniſters were not troubled at the Negotiations carried on in *France* and *Italy* againſt their Maſter; but bluntly declar'd, that *Philip* alledg'd that he ſhould be intruſted with the Princeſs of *Mantua*, that the *Cardinal* Duke ſhould Marry *Margaret* of *Savoy* his Siſter-in-Law, in order to lay the differences of the two Houſes aſleep; that *Charles Emmanuel* and *Ferdinand* ſhould quickly disband their Troops, and that the other points conteſted among 'em ſhould be left to the Arbitration of the Pope, the Emperour, and his Catholick Majeſty. Theſe Terms agreed ſo well with the Demands that *Charles Emmanuel* had made, that it was preſum'd the Prince of *Piemont*, who at length had obtain'd leave to go to *Madrid*, had manag'd his Fathers Affairs to his advantage. In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* went Mad to ſee himſelf ſo imperiouſly govern'd. But *Ferdinand* was more diſſatisfied than he. They did not content themſelves with taking his Niece from him; but would likewiſe oblige him to Marry againſt his Will his Siſter-in-Law, whom he did not love. The hatred he bore to *Charles Emmanuel*, inſpir'd him with an averſion to a Daughter of the declar'd Enemy of the Houſe of *Gonzague*. The Siſter of *Coſme* Great Duke of *Tuſcany* ſuited with his Fancy better, ſhe would bring him a conſiderable Fortune in Money. The *Ve-*

1613 *netians* his Confidents advis'd him to that alliance, and *Cosme* had a mind to conclude the Marriage, as soon as the Controversie between the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* was decided.

The *Spaniards* spoil'd their Affairs in speaking too haughtily. 'Twas effectually represented to the Regent, that it was a shame and indignity to suffer the King of *Spain* to give Laws to the Soveraign Allies of the Crown; and that he endeavour'd to hinder the King of *France* to be acquainted with the most important Affairs of *Italy*. *Mary de Medicis* being straiten'd on all hands, began then to shew some signs of Life. She declar'd plainly to the Ambassadour of *Spain*, that the King her Son wou'd not suffer the House of *Mantua* to be oppress'd, and that he wou'd imploy all the force of his Arms in assisting his Cousins and Allies. The only discourse in *France* was of a Rupture between the two Crowns: And the Gentry, who wish for nothing more than War, tho' it be the Instrument of their Ruine, and consequently of their Slavery, were yet ready to be on Horse-Back. At Court the Council sate often upon the Affair of *Mantua*; where every one gave his opinion accordto to his particular Interests. *Villeroy* and the other Ministers, whose Interest was most promoted by Peace, represented, that before they engag'd in a War, which might prove both long and Bloody, they should first try to adjust the Dispute by a Negotiation. The Princes and Lords, who thought War more useful for their Interest and Advancement, did not altogether reject the Trial of a Negotiation: But in order to render that more effectual, they thought it fit to keep an Army on Foot, ready to March, in case the Duke of *Savoy* or the King of *Spain* refus'd reasonable Terms.

'Twas mov'd in the Court of France *that their Troops should be order'd to March into* Italy.

Siri. Mem. Recond. Tom. 3. pag. 141, 142.

The Regent sent Marquis de Cœuvres *into* Italy *to Negotiate an accomodation between the Dukes of* Savoy *and* Mantua.

When the King of *Spain* was advis'd by his Ambassadour in *France*, that they talk'd seriously of the ordering their Troops to March into *Italy*, his Majesty and the Duke of *Lerma* his Favourite, who did not care for War, began to speak more civilly, and to shew their willingness to cast the business

of

of *Mantua* upon a Negotiation. *Philip* very directly told the Prince of *Piemont* to Write to *Turin*, that his Majesty had no mind to fall out with *France*, and that he would not provoke others to a rupture with *Spain*, by pursuing the fancies of the Duke of *Savoy*, who was always plotting new Chimera's. *May your Father therefore*, says the King, *resolve to be quiet hereafter; unless he find himself strong enough, to cope all alone with two Crowns and all* Italy. Upon the occasion of this matter, a certain Author relates a circumstance, which, if true, will evince that *Charles Emmanuel* was the most Chimerical Man upon Earth. At least *Villeroy* told *Ubaldini* that it was a true Story. 'Twas this. Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, being a Tyrant, perswaded the Duke of *Savoy* to make himself a Cardinal. *After that, said* Aldobrandin, *'twill be easie for you to obtain the Papacy in the next Conclave. I'll engage for all my Uncle's Creatures. In the mean time we'll continue united together, and give Laws to the Pope and all the Court of* Rome. The Count of *Verue*, the Duke's Confident, approv'd the Motion, as being the best in the World. To return to the business of *Mantua*.

1613

Siri Mem. Recond. *p.* 165. 172, *&c.*

History de Lesd. *l.* 8. *c.* 6.

His Catholick Majesty sent Orders to his Ambassadour in *France* to acquaint the Court, that he would withdraw his Troops from *Montferrat*, providing the Cardinal Duke would pardon his Subjects who had sided with *Savoy*. At the same time he propos'd a Marriage between *Ferdinand* and his Brother's Widow: And as for the young Princess of *Mantua* he was willing she should be put into a third Hand, by the consent of both the Crowns. These Proposals were back'd by the fairest and most civil Words in the World. All this open'd a way to the Cardinal Duke to get rid of the Intrigue with his Honour. The Court of *France* thought only of setting a Negotiation on Foot, and for that effect dispatching an Ambassadour extraordinary into *Italy*.

The boundless Ambition of Conchini, *when made a Mareschal of* France; *and of* Galigai *his Wife.*

The Marquess de *Coeuvers* was nominated for that Imployment. He set out from *Paris* the end of this Year, and went by the way of *Turin*, in order to confer first with the Duke of *Savoy*. *Coeuvers* tells

1613 tells us himſelf, that he had ſecret Orders to ſollicite the Cardinal Duke to reſign his Cap to *Galigai* Brother to the Mareſchal of *Ancre*'s Lady. The ambition of theſe People was altogether boundleſs. *Conchini* had but juſt got the Staff of a Mareſchal of *France*, in the room of *Fervacques* that had died but lately before; and preſently *Galigai* would not content her ſelf with ſeeing her Husband inveſted with the ſecond Military Dignity in *France*; but ſtrove to have her Brother preferr'd to the ſecond Dignity in the Church of *Rome*. This Creature forgot her ſelf ſo far that ſhe did not obſerve ev'n the meaſures of decency with Princeſſes of the Blood. Sometime before ſhe had ſpoke to the Princeſs of *Conde* in the Queen's Cloſet, in ſo bold and haughty a manner, that her Highneſs was mightily offended. Every Body was diſobliged by her Inſolence. Her conduct contributed not a little to incenſe the Princes and great Lords againſt her Husband; whom the new Dignity of Mareſchal of *France* did expoſe yet more to the jealouſie and hatred of the Courtiers.

Memoirs de la Regen. de Mar.

Siri Mem. Recond. *Tom.* III. *p.* 36. 160.

A Continuation of the Diſputes in the United Provinces upon Grace and Predeſtination.

Preface to the Acts of the Synod *of* Dort. Brand. *Hiſt. of the Reform.* Lib. xx. xxi.

The united Provinces were in as great a commotion upon the Queſtions of Grace and Predeſtination, as *Italy* was upon the Controverſie between *Savoy* and *Mantua*. *James*, King of Great *Britain*, engag'd in the Theological Diſputes of *Holland*, with as much warmth and eagerneſs; as the King of *France* and *Spain* in adjuſting the difference occaſion'd by *Savoy*'s pretenſions to *Montferrat*. *Vinwood* the Engliſh Embaſſadour to the States General of the United Provinces had many intrigues with the *Gomariſts*: One would have thought the buſineſs in hand had been a matter of great importance to his Maſters Crown. But all the matter was to know whether *Vorſtius* ſhould be excluded from the Univerſity of *Leyden*, that formally call'd him; or at the moſt to conſult, whether the five Articles of the *Arminians* were contrary to the fundamental Doctrine of the reformed Churches. The Ambaſſadour told them plainly, that *Barnevelt* Penſioner of *Holland* ſuffered himſelf to be over-reach'd by *Uytenbogard* Miniſter of the *Hague*, and the States of *Holland* being bewitch'd by *Barnevelt*,

velt, did whatever he ſuggeſted to them. The *Gomariſts* began then to be called *Contra-Remonſtrants*, by reaſon of the Counter Remonſtances given in, in oppoſition to the Petitions and Writings of the *Arminians* their Adverſaries. 1613 *Grotius* Apologeticus eorum qui *Hollandiæ* præfuerunt.

They went about carrying ſtill to *Vinwood* freſh Memorials, ſometimes againſt *Vorſtius*, ſometimes againſt the States of *Holland*, whom they charg'd with being too favourable to the Remonſtrants and *Socinians*. The Ambaſſadour convey'd all to the King, or elſe to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had declar'd openly againſt *Vorſtius* and the *Arminians*. The Intereſt which the *Contra-Remonſtrants* had with his Britannick Majeſty, gave the States of *Holland* a great deal of trouble. They endeavour'd by all means poſſible to ſtifle theſe Diſputes, and prevent their bad conſequences. But the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, reckoning ſtill upon King *James*'s Protection, would never ſit quietly.

After the famous conference at the *Hague* 1611, the States of *Holland* order'd the Divines of both Parties to draw up in writing their Thoughts of the five controverted Articles; together with their Opinion about the moſt proper means for pacifying the Troubles occaſion'd by this diſpute in ſeveral of the United Provinces. The *Remanſtrants* declar'd, that Toleration was to their Mind the ſureſt and moſt convenient Means, granting to every one the liberty of Teaching and Preaching whatever they believ'd concerning the controverted Points. The *Contra-Remonſtrants* propos'd the Convocation of a National Synod, to examine and determine which of the two Sentiments was moſt agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrine commonly receiv'd in the Reform'd Churches. When the States of *Holland* took the matter into conſideration, they found themſelves divided into two Parties; the one approving the advice of the *Remonſtrants*, and the other demanding the Convocation of a National Synod. At laſt the firſt carried it.

They were unwilling to declare for either ſide; but they iſſu'd out an Edict enjoyning the *Remon-*

ſtrant

1613 *ſtrant* and *Contra-Remonſtrant* Miniſters to bear with one another in mutual Charity, not to diſturb the Peace of the Churches, nor to pretend that one had the better of the other; to ſpeak in their Sermons with a great deal of Caution and Moderation of the controverted Points; to make it more their buſineſs to inculcate into the People, what concerns the devoirs of a Chriſtian Life, and the neceſſity of preſerving Peace in the Church and civil Society, than to unfold to their Audience the difficult and abſtracted Queſtions of Theology. And foraſmuch as the *Contra-Remonſtrants* complain'd, that their Adverſaries did not only maintain Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of the Reform'd Churches concerning Grace and Predeſtination; but likewiſe concerning Original Sin, the Satisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſome other Articles of high importance to Religion; the States of *Holland* order'd, that in their publick Leſſons and Sermons nothing ſhould be taught contrary to what the Reform'd Churches have always profeſs'd to believe concerning Original Sin, the Satisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſome other Articles mention'd in the Edict.

This may ſerve to refute the Calumnies of ſome bigot *Contra-Remonſtrants*, who had the impudence publickly to charge the States of *Holland* with countenancing the impious Doctrines advanc'd in the preceeding Age, by *Samoſat*, *Servet*, and *Socinus*. The Members of that illuſtrious Aſſembly did always deteſt the Enemies of the Divinity of Chriſt Jeſus. Indeed many of the Deputies did not think themſelves bound to declare againſt the calling of *Vorſtius* to the Univerſity of *Leyden*, but that was becauſe *Vorſtius* had publickly diſown'd *Socinus*'s advances. The States order'd that his Declaration to that effect ſhould be Printed in Latin and Dutch, and tranſmitted to the King of *England*. Beſides, they enjoyn'd him to give a diſtinct Anſwer to all the Charges advanc'd againſt him in publick Writings, and to ſtay at *Tergow*, till they were better inform'd of his true Sentiments. *Grotius*, ſo renown'd

nown'd for his admirable performances, was then Advocate Fiſcal in *Holland*, and had a great hand in the procedure of the States of that Province upon this Controverſie. That Learned Man abhorr'd Socinianiſm ſo much, that he frankly ſaid, the followers of *Socinus* were not worthy to be reckon'd Chriſtians; and that he ſaw no great difference between a Socinian and a Mahometan. Afterwards he ſeem'd to have a more favourable opinion of the Socinians; but he never embrac'd their Sentiments. This is plainly made out, by an infinity of paſſages in his Letters and other Books. Let his Enemies ſay what they will to ſully his Reputation; he will ſtill have the glory of refuting *Socinus*'s falſe ſubtilties againſt the Satisfaction of Chriſt, more happily than thoſe that wrote before him. 1613 *Epiſt. Grot.* 13. *ad* Walæum.

A new conteſt in Holland *upon the manner of chuſing Paſtors.*

The wiſer and more moderate part of the Miniſters willingly ſubmitted to the Edict publiſh'd in the Year 1611: Thoſe of the *Walloon* Churches ſignaliz'd themſelves on this occaſion. In their Synods held in the Years 1612, and 1613, they promis'd to own thoſe for Brethren, who maintain'd the five controverted Articles. But the greater part of the *Dutch* Miniſters were not ſo tractable. Moſt of them had been concern'd in the quarrel. Thoſe who ſided with the *Contra-Remonſtrants* cry'd out againſt the Edict. They branded the States of *Holland* with a mean Condeſcenſion to thoſe men, whoſe Doctrine, ſaid they, tended to ſet up Popery, or at leaſt Socinianiſm in the Reform'd Churches. In the Year 1612, a new buſineſs ſtarted up that gave occaſion to freſh conteſts. The Remonſtrants complain'd that their Adverſaries being more numerous in the Synods and Provincial *Claſſes*, call'd in *France*, *Colloques*; commonly refus'd to admit thoſe to the Miniſtry who maintain'd the Doctrine of the five Articles. Upon this and ſome other conſiderations *Barnevelt* propos'd in a meeting of the States General, that the Law made in the Year 1591, concerning the manner of electing Paſtors for the Church, ſhould be renew'd. In the beginning of the Reformation in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, and the States of that Province, had a deſign to confine

Grotius oratione habita in Senat. Amſtel. & Ep. 18. ad *Uytenbogardum*.

Grotius Apologet. eorum, &c. Cap. 7.

1613 fine the Election of the Paſtors to the Magiſtrates of the place: But the Eccleſiaſticks were ſo dexterous, as to get the project put by. A National Synod held at the *Hague* in the Year 1586, order'd that Paſtors ſhould be Elected by the Conſiſtory, and that they ſhould pay this deference to the Magiſtrates, to acquaint 'em with the Election, and ask if they had any thing to object againſt the Converſation and Doctrine of the Elected Perſon. This Decree of the Synod ſunk the right of Patronage, which had been receiv'd in *Holland* long before the Reformation; and which the States and Gentlemen of the Country pretended to keep up, as well as ſeveral other reform'd Provinces. The States of *Holland* were ſo far from approving the Synod's Orders, that they iſſued out an Edict that ſame Year, in which they declar'd their intention of preſerving to themſelves and the Gentlemen the right of Patronage; upon theſe terms, that the Perſons nominated by the Patrons ſhall not be admitted to the Miniſtry, till a full information be had of their ſound Doctrine and regular life. Neither did the States of *Zealand* ſtand to the Canon of that National Synod. In the Year 1591 they convocated a particular Synod of their own Province: In which 'twas ordain'd that the Conſiſtories ſhould addreſs the Magiſtrates of the place, to nominate Deputies to aſſiſt in the Conſiſtory at the Election of the Paſtor.

In *Holland*, always when a Church became vacant, the Conteſt reviv'd. The Conſiſtories maintain'd that the Privilege belong'd to them alone. The Magiſtrates and Gentlemen pretended to keep up the right of their Patronage. In order to remedy the diſorders occaſion'd by ſuch frequent diſputes, in the Year 1591, the States of *Holland* indeavour'd to make a new Law concerning the manner of chooſing Paſtors. According to that new Model, the Conſiſtory and Magiſtrates were to nominate each of 'em four perſons of their own Body, to act joyntly in the Election: The Act of Election was after that to be carried to the Body of the Magiſtrates, who might either accept or reject the elected Miniſter:

And

And in caſe he was rejected, they were to proceed to another Election. This Law was agreeable enough to the rights eſtabliſh'd by the Emperor *Juſtinian's* Novel Conſtitutions, concerning the Election of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters. In order to preſerve ſome privilege for thoſe private Gentlemen that had the Patronage of Churches; 'twas added in the ſame Law, that in caſe a Paſtor were to be Elected to a Church, whereof a private Man was Patron; the Patron ſhould depute four perſons to Elect joyntly with the four appointed by the Conſiſtory; ſo that the Gentlemen obtain'd the ſame privilege with reference to Patronage, that the Magiſtrates had in Cities and Towns. Tho' this Model was ſo well Calculated to give all parties Satisfaction, yet it met with ſo much oppoſition in the Convention of the States of *Holland*, in the Year 1592. from ſome conſiderable Cities, that 'twas impoſſible to get it paſs'd into an Act. 1613

In the Year 1612. the Penſioner *Barnevelt* propos'd it again to the States of that Province, as being more neceſſary than ever, at a time when the diſputes about the five Articles were reviv'd again. Beſides that the Synods and *Claſſes* would not have dared, upon the pretence of the Hereſie of the *Remonſtrants*, to keep out thoſe who ſhould be choſen by the joynt concurrence of Conſiſtories and the Magiſtrates or Patrons; this Model would have fetch'd yet another conſiderable advantage, conſidering the condition of the Churches of *Holland* at that day; It put the Magiſtrates in the way of chooſing only ſuch Paſtors as were wiſe, moderate, agreeable in their Converſation, and diſpoſed to peace. As ſoon as *Barnevelt* ſtarted the propoſal, the members of the Convention were divided in their Sentiments. Some were for the Publication of the Act projected in 1591. Others thought it more convenient that it ſhould be firſt agreed to in a Synod. 'Tis preſum'd the latter were affraid that the Miniſters of the *Contra-Remonſtrant* party would be incens'd; for they grumbled mightily that the States by themſelves

ſhould

1613 ſhould pretend to decide the Concerns of Religion and the Government of the Church.

Barnevelt took the affair to heart, and manag'd it ſo well, that he got all the Members to be of his opinion. In fine, the States of *Holland* reſolv'd, that the Conſtitution projected in 1591 concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, ſhould be obſerv'd thereafter. But there was a great deal of difficulty in putting it in Execution. Preſently there ſtarted up new Conteſts, what by word of mouth, and what by writings, upon the Reſolution of the States. The *Contra-Remonſtrants* cry'd out, that the States had gone beyond the Bounds of their Lawful Authority: And that 'twas not allowable for them to put their Hand in that faſhion to the Cenſer, in regulating the concerns of the Doctrine of Faith, and the Government of the Church. The Remonſtrants were ſure to ſide with the States. Beſides that 'twas an opportunity of ingratiating themſelves with the higher Powers; they likewiſe found their account in the ſettlement of that Law. The *Arminians* therefore juſtly maintain'd, that the States of *Holland*, being Soveraign in their own Province, might give orders for a thing not contrary to the Law of God; regulate the Church Polity, and make Laws for the Preſervation of its Peace, in imitation of the Emperours and Chriſtian Princes, who did the ſame without any oppoſition from the Primitive Church. To the end that not only the Conteſts about the five Articles; but even thoſe concerning the right of Patronage, and the Soveraign Power of Soveraigns in matters of Faith, and the Diſcipline of the Church; may be laid aſleep. This was the occaſion of *Grotius*'s excellent Treatiſe; wherein he makes out at large what he had formerly advanc'd in an Apology for the States of *Holland*, concerning the Authority of Soveraigns in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. But before I ſpeak of the Apology publiſhed by *Grotius*, I ought firſt to preſent you with a ſhort view of the Diviſions that increas'd every where in the United Provinces.

De Imperio ſummarum Poteſtatum circa ſacra

Synods

Synods were already ſetting up againſt Synods. That of *Utrecht* 1612 declar'd that the five Articles of the *Remonſtrants* were tollerable. That of *Guelderland* maintain'd that the whole Doctrine contain'd in the Confeſſion of Faith, and Catechiſm of the *Belgick* Churches, is Conformable to the Law of God; and engag'd ſolemnly to Maintain and Defend it. In ſome Towns *Remonſtrant* Miniſters are ſuſpended or depos'd as Hereticks; in others the *Contra-Remonſtrants* are expell'd as Fanatical and Seditious. The People ſtuck to their Reſpective Paſtors, and would not receive thoſe who were put into their places. So that a downright Schiſm was form'd in the Church. One part of the People Aſſembled with the depos'd Miniſter, in ſpite of the Magiſtrates. Another part ſtruck in with the new one. One *Geſelius* gave the Magiſtrates of *Rotterdam* a great deal of trouble. They depos'd him. He kept private Meetings. Then they baniſh him. He refuſes to obey. The Magiſtates publiſh a Manifeſto to the People in Vindication of their Conduct. *Geſelius* anſwers it in his own Juſtification. In ſhort, had Arianiſm prevailed at that time, there could not have been greater Diviſions in that Church. Circular Letters were bandy'd about, to exhort the People to ſeparat from the Communion of the Remonſtrants. The *Contra-Remonſtrants* call'd themſelves, the Church unjuſtly Perſecuted. They met privately in a Barn at *Rotterdam*. The Magiſtrates caus'd 'em to ſhut the Barn; But the *Contra-Remonſtrant* Party open'd it again. Had the queſtion been concerning the moſt eſſential Points of the Chriſtian Religion, they could not have ſhewn more warmth and zeal.

1613

Wider Diviſions in the United Provinces.

During this Commotion, *Gomar* quitted the Chair of Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, and retreated to *Middleburg* in *Zealand*. *Polyander*, a ſtrenuous defender of the ſame Sentiments, was put into his place. But the *Remonſtrants* made their repriſals by calling *Epiſcopius* to the ſame Univerſity; who had gain'd a great Reputation among the party,

1613 by defending the five Articles in the Conference at the *Hague* 1611. At first the two new Professors seem'd to live in a good understanding together. But that did not last long. Whether *Polyander* was jealous of *Episcopius* his Reputation, he being a Man of uncommon Learning, and a fine subtile penetrating Wit; or whether the good zeal and love of the Truth urg'd him to oppose the evil that might accrue to the University of *Leyden* by *Episcopius*'s Libertin Sentiments about such important Points, as Grace and Predestination; whatever was in it, there happen'd an open Rupture between the two Professors. A great many sided with *Polyander*. His adversary us'd such a liberty in speaking of the Nature and Attributes of God, the Trinity, and the Incarnation; that did a great deal of harm to the Interest of the *Remonstrants*, who had *Episcopius* and *Uytenbogard* at their Head.

A Conference at Delph *between the* Remonstrants *and* Contra-Remonstrants.

Uytenbogard seem'd more reserv'd, and truer to the Ancient belief of the Church. Count *William Lowis* of *Nassaw* Governour of *Friesland*, being then at the *Hague*, endeavour'd to pacifie the Contests upon Religion. He dreaded the bad Consequences accruing from thence to the Church and Republick. He appointed a Conference between *Uytenbogard* and *Festu Hommius* Professor at *Leyden*, who appear'd to be more moderate than many others of the *Contra-Remonstrant* Party. The Count first ask'd 'em if they knew no expedient for putting an end to these Disputes, and restoring Peace to the Churches of the United Provinces. *Hommius* answer'd, that the Reconciliation wou'd not be difficult, while they expected the Decision of a Synod upon the Contraverted Points, providing the *Remonstrants* wou'd plainly declare, that they would sincerely receive the Confession of Faith of the *Belgick* Churches, bating their five Articles. *As for me*, says *Uytenbogard*, *I have no other private Sentiments, I am ready to declare it when ye will. And I doubt not but the wiser sort of the* Remonstrants *will do the same.* This Declaration

Declaration made way for a new Conference at *Delph*, in the beginning of the year 1613, between ſome Perſons deputed on both ſides. 1613

The States of *Holland* thought fit, that three Divines of each ſide were enough. When they came to ſpeak of the methods of Union, the *Remonſtrants* propos'd a Toleration; and requir'd their Adverſaries to declare whether the Doctrine of the five Articles was tolerable or not. The *Contra-Remonſtrants* preſs'd for a Convocation of a National Synod, to pronounce a definitive Sentence upon the five Controverted Points. *As for a Toleration*, continued they, *you demand it in too general a manner; pray declare openly whether theſe five Articles are the only Points in which ye depart from the Confeſſion of Faith commonly receiv'd among us. Explain your thoughts concerning the Satisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt, Original Sin, and ſome other important Articles. There are other Propoſitions, beſides theſe five, contrary to the Confeſſion of Faith in eſſential Points; which are extracted from the Books of* Arminius, Vorſtius, *and ſome other Remonſtrants. Pray diſown theſe Propoſitions which are ſo evidently falſe.* The *Remonſtrants* reply'd; that Councils had often done more harm than good; that the calling of a National Synod ſeem'd no extraordinary Expedient for deciding the matter, and that the Province of *Holland* would not think themſelves oblig'd to ſubmit to the Judgment of other Provinces in matters of Religion. *As for the requir'd Declaration upon the other Articles of the Confeſſion of Faith, ſaid the Remonſtrants, we'll conſider of it with our Brethren; your Demand may eaſily be granted, providing you'll own that the Doctrine of the five Articles, is not contrary to the Fundamental Points of Chriſtianity.* Thus the Conference at *Delph* was equally ſucceſsleſs with the former, they parted without concluding upon any thing. *Uytenbogard* one of the *Remonſtrant* Deputies, and *Feſtus Hommius* for the oppoſit party, repair'd ſpeedily to the *Hague*, to acquaint

Grot. Apol. eorum qui Holland. præfuerunt.

1613 the States of the Province with the proceedings at *Delph*.

In truth, theſe Men of the Chair and the School, are ſtrange ſort of Men. They are ſo far from bringing things to an accommodation, that they are apt to perplex them more, when left to the liberty of their humour and prejudices. What was the Reaſon, forſooth, that they did not give Peace to their Churches and their Country, when expos'd by warm Diſputes to the danger of utter ruine? It was only a ſmall point of Honour. The *Remonſtrants* wou'd not give their adverſaries the advantage of conſtraining them to explain their thoughts of certain Articles, and I do not know what Propoſitions out of *Arminius* and *Vorſtius*. The *Contra-Remonſtrants* again wou'd not give their Enemies occaſion to Triumph upon a favourable conſtruction of the five Articles. Why did both one and the other refuſe to come up to ſuch reaſonable Terms? A ſmall meaſure of Charity and Condeſcenſion would have prevented all the Evils that follow'd. For my part I cannot at all approve the ſtiffneſs of the *Remonſtrants* on this occaſion. To ſpeak ingenuouſly, what reaſon ſhould hinder them to ſtop their Adverſaries Mouth, by a clear and diſtinct Expoſition of their Faith. It cannot be denied, but the Books of *Vorſtius*, and ſome others of that Party, have given juſt ground of ſuſpicion, both to their Adverſaries, and to other ſage diſintereſſed Perſons.

However *Uytenbogard*, by his Addreſs and Intereſt, got the States of *Holland* to approve of the conduct of the *Remonſtrants* in their Conference at *Delph*. He excus'd their refuſal, by repreſenting that the *Contra-Remonſtrants* would have put themſelves upon the Foot of the Inquiſitors of *Spain*. *It is allowable indeed*, ſaid he, *to Proſecute People, when there are certain Proofs to Convict them: But to oblige thoſe who are only ſuſpected to accuſe themſelves, is a Tyrannical Maxim of the Court of the Inquiſition. If we teach Heretical Tenets, our Adverſaries may Convict*

us:

us: But if they have no Proof againſt us, muſt they purſue their ſuſpicion upon Men whoſe Doctrine is blameleſs? The pretence was ſpecious: But trifling at the Bottom. We ſhould not ſtand to give account of our Faith, when Charity, the Edification of our Neighbour, and the Intereſt of Peace require it. Certainly, there was ſomething in the Conduct of the *Remonſtrants*, that wanted Uprightneſs and Sincerity. 1613

Uytenbogard and thoſe of his Party, were not ſo careful to procure the favour of the States of *Holland*, as to manage their Intereſt in *England*, and deface the bad Impreſſions which his Britannick Majeſty had receiv'd of their Doctrine and Perſons. It was much the Intereſt of the *Remonſtrants* to withdraw, from their Adverſaries, the ſupport they expected from *James* I. *Vinwood* his Ambaſſadour at the *Hague* had prepoſſeſs'd him againſt the *Remonſtrants*; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a declar'd Enemy to *Vorſtius*, endeavour'd to inflame the King's Enmity. In earneſt, that Prelate thought that all the *Remonſtrant* Miniſters, and the Magiſtrates who protected them, inclin'd to *Socinianiſm*, which *Vorſtius* ſeem'd to him to be tainted with. *Uytenbogard* and the reſt reſolv'd to confront the Archbiſhop, with Doctors and Prelates diſtinguiſhed by their Merit in *England*, and above all with the learned *Caſaubon*, for whom his Majeſty had a particular eſteem. His Majeſty had imbrac'd *Calvin*'s Opinion of Predeſtination, rather through the prejudices of his Education, than by Reaſon and Study. Upon which account *Caſaubon* and the reſt, found no great Difficulty in perſwading him to hear what they had to ſay in the behalf of the *Remonſtrants* in *Holland*. The *Remonſtrants* made their advantage of this lucky Minute. They tranſmitted to *Caron*, Ambaſſadour for the States General at *London*, a Memorial containing an accurate Deſcription of the true ſtate of the Queſtions, in diſpute between them and their Adverſaries. The Memorial was read to the King, and he was ſatisfied with it. Nay his Majeſty wrote to the States of *Holland*, that his Opinion was, they ſhould give a

James I. *not ſo inveterate againſt the* Arminians

1613 Toleration to the *Remonſtrants*; that the Magiſtrates ſhould imploy their Authority in laying theſe Diſputes aſleep, and diſcharge the People to meddle with ſuch difficult and abſtracted Controverſies. The King's Letter vex'd the *Contra-Remonſtrants* mightily: But did not intirely unhinge them. They ſent privately a Memorial to *England* to perſwade the King, that his Religion was impos'd upon. The Conduct of the States of *Holland*, and thoſe concern'd in adminiſtring the Affairs of the Province, was therein decry'd in ſuch an outragious manner, that his Majeſty ſent a Copy of his Letter to the States of *Holland*.

About this time *Grotius* was ſent into *England*, upon ſome Affairs of the *Eaſt-India* Company. But I am apt to believe there was another ſecret Deſign in the Commiſſion. The Eſtates of *Holland* had a mind that ſo learned a Man ſhould intirely undeceive the King of Great *Britain*, and confer upon the five controverted Articles with the Biſhops and moſt learned Divines in *England*. *Grotius* found that the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Dean of St. *Paul*'s at *London*, *Caſaubon*, and ſeveral others were, almoſt, of the ſame Opinion with the *Arminians*, upon the Points of Grace and Predeſtination. All of 'em gave him a favourable reception, excepting the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* who was always prepoſſeſs'd againſt the *Remonſtrants*, and by conſequence againſt *Grotius*, who defended them with all his might. He had ſeveral Audiences of the King, who frankly acknowledg'd that he thought the Sentiments of *Calvin* and *Beza* very harſh, and that according to their Hypotheſis God wou'd be the Author of Sin. But his Majeſty continued ſtill to condemn the wicked Sentiments he had obſerv'd in *Vorſtius* his Books. In order to gain his favour, there was a neceſſity of rejecting all that approach'd to *Socinus*'s impious Paradoxes, concerning the Divinity and Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt. *If ye wou'd have me*, ſaid the King to *Grotius*, *to entertain a better Opinion of* Uytenbogard *and the Remonſtrants, ye muſt firſt perſwade me that thoſe people have no inclination to Socinianiſm.* *Grotius* gave *Uytenbogard* his friend

friend to know, what his Majesty thought of him and the rest of his Party. Whereupon *Uytenbogard*, by *Grotius* his advice, wrote a Letter to *Casaubon*, to be shewn to the King. The King was very well satisfied in every thing, excepting this that *Uytenbogard* spoke too respectfully of *Vorstius*. 1613

The *Contra-Remonstrants* endeavour'd by all means to frustrate *Grotius* his Negotiations in *England*. One of the Professors of *Franeker* in *Friesland*, call'd *Sibrand*, wrote against *Vorstius*, and charg'd him with a Century of Heresies. This Book was Dedicated to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Under the Colour of commending the King of *Britain*'s zeal against *Vorstius*, in his Epistle Dedicatory, he falls foul upon the Governours of the University of *Leyden* and the States of the Province, charging them with a design of introducing Socinianism. He likewise attack'd the Conduct of the States, in refusing to consent to the calling of a National Synod. His plea was, that Soveraigns transgress the Bounds of their Authority in taking Cognisance of Religious Controversies, which ought not to be treated elsewhere, than in an Ecclesiastical Assembly; he rail'd against the Confirmation of the Law made 1591; in fine, he maintained that Magistrates have no right to meddle with any thing relating to the Vocation of a Pastour and Ecclesiastical Government. The States of *Holland* were mightily incens'd at the temerity and insolence of the *Friesland* Person. Had he only refuted *Vorstius* his errours, they cou'd have said nothing to him. But was it pardonable in a private Man to throw out such outragious calumnies against the Soveraigns of a Province united to that in which he liv'd; and to speak injuriously of the Orders they rightfully issued out? *Grotius* was order'd to make an Apology for the States of *Holland*. He acquitted himself wonderfully of so honourable a Commission. His Book was wrote with a great deal of Elegancy, full of the quickest turns upon his Adversary, and of

Sibrand a *Minister in* Friesland *publishes a Lybel injurious to the States of* Holland. Grotius *is order'd to answer it.*

Ordinum Hollandiæ & Westfrisæ pietas.

1613 ſuch Learning as is worthy of the Incomparable Author. He there gives a full Juſtification of the Conduct of the States of *Holland* upon the buſinels of *Arminianiſm*: And by the way touches upon the Authority and Neceſſity of Councils. He ſolidly makes out the Power of Soveraigns in Religious Controverſies and the Government of the Church. *Sibrand* anſwer'd *Grotius*: but they were unequally match'd. *Grotius*, in three or four leaves made it to appear, that the Profeſſor of *Franeker* was a Man not to be credited, and that he did not underſtand the Subject he writ upon.

Bona fides Sibrand. Luberti.

The States of *Holland* were mightily encourag'd by the King of *England*'s Letter; in which he adviſ'd 'em to employ their Authority to ſtifle the Diſpute, and to order the Divines of both Parties to bear with one another in Charity, that the Peace of the Church may not be longer diſturb'd by their frivolous Diſputes upon abſtracted Queſtions, which were of no importance to Salvation. *Grotius* being made Penſioner of the City of *Roterdam*, was order'd to draw up a Scheme of an Edict to be propos'd in the Convention of the States of *Holland*. The motion was follow'd by great difficulties. Some ſaid it was proper to have the five Articles examin'd in a Synod; before they paſs'd a ſolemn Act of Toleration to thoſe that maintain'd 'em. *To allow oppoſite Doctrines*, ſaid ſome, *to be taught in the ſame Church, in the ſame Chair, is the way to expoſe the Province to greater Diviſions. The diſputed Points*, ſaid others, *are only ſome Speculative Tenets, of no importanee to Salvation. What inconvenience is there, in allowing every one to ſpeak what they think? Emperours and Chriſtian Princes have often made Laws, without Convening the Paſtours, concerning the Doctrines and Practice of the Church.* Notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, the Deputies and Magiſtrates of ſome conſiderable Towns in *Holland*, refus'd for a long time to conſent to the Publication of the Edict. Thoſe of *Amſterdam* ſtood out longer than the reſt; and requir'd that their oppoſition ſhou'd be enter'd in the Regiſters of State.

The Edict of the States of Holland *for ſtifling the difference about Grace and and Predeſtination.*

By

By Reaſon of all theſe Difficulties, the Edict projected ſome time before the end of the year 1613 was not Publiſhed till the beginning of 1614. The States of *Holland* therein exhorted thoſe who ſhou'd have occaſion to explain the Texts of Scripture relating to Predeſtination, to follow the Precept of St. *Paul*, namely, that none ſhould deſire to know above what he ought to know; and that every one ſhould uſe his knowledge moderately; becauſe God has not given to all an equal meaſure of Faith. Then they ordered them to Preach that the beginning, progreſs, and accompliſhment of Salvation, are only owing to the Grace of Chriſt, and not to the Works of thoſe who are call'd. They were forbid to teach that God created Man to damn him, or puts him under a neceſſity of Sinning; or even that he calls thoſe to Salvation, whom he reſolves not to ſave. In fine, the Eſtates gave orders, that no trouble ſhould be offer'd to thoſe, who, in explaining the paſſages of Scripture relating to Predeſtination, ſuppos'd that Men are ſav'd by the Grace of Chriſt alone, and by Perſevering in Faith to the end; and that all thoſe who do not believe in Jeſus Chriſt are damn'd. As for the other Doctrines, the States Prohibited them to Preach any thing that was not conformable to the Doctrine receiv'd in the Churches of *Holland*. 1613

This Edict, concerted with ſo much care, for giving all Parties ſatisfaction, was ſo far from laying the Storm that had continued ſo long, that it grew more violent than before. Some of the *Contra-Remonſtrant* Miniſters Publiſh'd Books to perſwade the People, that they ought not to ſubmit to the Edict. They publickly arraign'd the States for favouring Popery, and introducing an impious Doctrine into the United Provinces. *Uytenbogard* wrote in defence of the Edict of the States againſt their own Subjects. Every day produc'd new Books, ſome for, and ſome againſt the Edict; ſome defending *Sibrand*, and ſome ſideing with *Grotius*. The Diviſion crept into the Churches. The *Contra-*

Remonſtrants

1613 *Remonſtrants* reſolv'd to have no more Communion with their Adverſaries, and had their meetings apart in ſeveral places.

Grot. Apolog. &c. Cap. 6. There was a warm diſpute between the two Parties, whether the Edict was approv'd of in *England* or not. *Grotius* had a Letter from *Caſaubon*, a Man of an integrity equal to his Conſummate Knowledge. In this Letter *Caſaubon* aſſur'd his friend, that the King, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Prelates diſtinguiſh'd by their Merit and Learning, were well pleas'd with the Edict; *The manner*, ſaid *Caſaubon*, *in which it is conceived, appears to the King and others to be equally remov'd from the two oppoſite Extreams of Manicheiſm and Pelagianiſm. The neceſſity of grace is therein eſtabliſh'd, without encouraging remiſſneſs and negligence in good works.* On the other hand, the *Contra-Remonſtrants* produc'd Letters from *England*, importing that neither the King nor the Perſons of the higheſt Dignity in the Church of *England*, did approve of the Edict and Conduct of the States of *Holland*. However the Teſtimony of *Caſaubon*, who had himſelf diſcours'd the King and the Prelates upon the Subject, ſeems preferable to the Anonymous Letters alledg'd by the *Contra-Remonſtrants*.

THE

1614

THE HISTORY Of the Reign of *LEWIS* XIII. King of *France* and *Navarre*.

BOOK V.

Mary de Medicis was overjoy'd to see her self deliver'd from the fears of a Rupture with *Spain*, upon the business of *Mantua*. But her joy was quickly allay'd. The retirement of the Prince of *Conde*, and several other Malecontent Lords, who concerted to leave the Court towards the beginning of the Year 1614, put her Majesty in a great Alarm. The Mareschal *Bouillon* form'd this new Party, with a great deal of Advantage to his own Interest. He was disaffected, because he was not employ'd in concerting Affairs of moment, and the Queen did not reward the important Services he fancy'd he had done her. This Ambitious and Nimble-witted Man, purpos'd to make his friendship necessary to the Queen and her Ministers, by raising difficulties which he alone was able to remove. Accordingly he

A new Party formed by Bouillon.

Memoir. du Duc. de Rohan. Siri Memoir. Recond. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 222.

1614 he ſollicits the Prince of *Conde* more than ever to make his diſaffections Publick; he being already irritated by the Queen's denial of the *Chatteau Trompette*, by her recalling the ancient Miniſters, whom he thought he had caus'd to be remov'd; and by the rapid courſe of *Conchini*'s Fortune, who was debauch'd away from his Party. The Dukes of *Nevers*, *Mayenne*, *Vendome*, *Longueville*, *Piney-Luxembourg*, and ſeveral others were gain'd by *Bouillon*'s Artifices; and entered into new Engagements with the firſt Prince of the Blood. They all agree to depart the Court much about the ſame time, and to meet afterwards in *Champaigne*, in order to demand joyntly a Redreſſment of the diſorders in the Government. Thus the Princes and Great Lords often impoſe upon the People, when they want to make uſe of them to compaſs their own ends. But 'twere more tolerable for the People of *France* to be gull'd by them, if they were leſs greedy of the Court Gratuities, or at leaſt were Maſters of ſo much precaution as to hinder the People to be enſlav'd, and to be put out of a Condition to joyn with them upon occaſion. While the Princes and Great Lords ſacrifice the intereſt of the People to their own Ambition, or Avarice, they undo themſelves to an irremedileſs Degree; for after they have oppreſs'd thoſe who were able to aid them, 'tis an eaſie matter to reduce themſelves to a more ſcandalous ſervitude.

This Party that was then form'd upon the ſpecious pretence of the publick Good, might have done good Service to all the Orders and Ranks in the Kingdom; if thoſe who were engag'd in it had brought honeſt Hearts, and taken care to take better meaſures. *Nevers* govern'd in *Campaigne*, *Mayenne* in the *Iſle of France*, *Vendome* in *Brittany*, *Longueville* in *Piccardy*, the Count of St. *Paul* his Uncle having reſign'd the Government to him. But the Mareſchal *Bouillon* was the Man whom they all reckon'd moſt upon, by reaſon of his ability, and the Soveraignty of *Sedan*. He had no mind to Unite ſuch a Puiſſant Party; unleſs he were ſo Maſter of it, as to diſperſe it, when he could make advantage by ſo doing.

The

The Prince of *Conde* retir'd immediately to *Chateauroux*, a Place he had purchas'd in *Berri*. The Duke of *Nevers* went to *Champaigne*, *Mayenne* to *Soiſſons*, and the Dukes of *Longueville* and *Vendome* were quickly to follow. But the Duke of *Vendome* having ſtaid too long, was arreſted in the *Louvre*, and kept up in a Chamber by the Queen's Order. The Mareſchal *Bouillon* was the laſt in departing. To render himſelf leſs ſuſpected to the Party, he had procur'd from them a Commiſſion to wait upon the Miniſters before his ſetting out, and acquaint 'em with the deſigns of the Prince and others. He was ſure his cunning would ſtill make him Maſter of the Intrigue, and that he could turn *Conde*'s humour as he pleas'd; he did not make any ſhew of fleeing, till he had promis'd the Queen that he would quickly regain the Prince and Lords imbarqued in the Party. 1614

Memoir. du Duc de Rohan.

The Duke of *Savoy* was too much intereſs'd in thwarting *Mary de Medicis*, not to have correſpondence with *Conde*. Beſides that a Civil War would put the Regent out of a Capacity to relieve the Houſe of *Mantua*, he flatter'd himſelf that the Prince and Lords in League with him, would break the double Marriage concluded with *Spain*, according to their Promiſes; and by that means he would be reveng'd of the Regent, in forcing her to give her eldeſt Daughter to the Prince of *Piemont*, and putting the late King's Promiſes in Execution. At the ſame time that the Duke of *Savoy* treated with thoſe of that Faction, he indeavour'd to amuſe the Regent, and exhorted her to a vigorous defence of her Authority, againſt thoſe who had a mind to pull it down. The Duke's Agents had orders to proteſt to her, that their Maſter would willingly forget all former grounds of Complaint, and the affront pu upon him in the face of all *Europe*, by the Treaty of the double Marriage with *Spain*; that he was very ſorry to ſee *Mary de Medicis*, oblig'd to encounter new Difficulties by turbulent and uneaſie Spirits; that he never entertain'd the thought, that ſome charge him with, of Encouraging the Prince of *Conde*; and promiſing to aſſiſt

The Duke of Savoy *his Artifices to raiſe a Civil War in* France.

Siri Mem. Recond. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 22. *c.* 227.

1614 assist him. *Tho' his Highness*, said the Agents to the Regent, *does not doubt but her Majesty's Prudence will quickly disperse this, as well as former Factions; yet his unfeign'd concern for the Crown of* France, *makes him take the Liberty to offer his Mediation to your Majesty, if you think it can do you any Service. He would further offer you his own presence with his Troops, were he not perswaded that your Majesty does not stand in need of such weak assistance; and that he himself is oblig'd to leave strong Garrisons in his places of strength, 'till the difference with the House of* Mantua *be adjusted.*

Several Opinions in the Council of France *about dispersing* Conde's *party.*

Memoirs de la Regen. *de Mar. de Medicis.*

Vie du *Epernon.* liv. 6.

The Regent stood in need of juster and honester Allies than the Duke of *Savoy*. The King of *Spain* and Duke of *Lorrain* offer'd her assistance as well as *Savoy*. But her Majesty was not for bringing in Foreign Troops; that might have stirr'd up a great many. The Duke of *Epernon* was speedily recall'd, notwithstanding the Queen's having disoblig'd him after the late Reconciliation. When the Court sollicited him to Return, he affected a great many generous and disengaged Sentiments. But there was more Ostentation than Reality in them. A short while before, *Epernon* had sollicited the Regent to revive the Office of first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, which he had possess'd under *Henry* III. and to give it to *Candale* his eldest Son. He took it unkindly, that he could not obtain a favour that he reckon'd to be due to his Services; and therefore desir'd leave to go to *Metz*, of which he was Governour. But as soon as *Mary de Medicis* perceiv'd the storm rais'd, she pacify'd the Duke of *Epernon* in granting to him the favour she had formerly denied. The Duke of *Guise* also receiv'd new Marks of Favour and Respect. He flatter'd himself with the hopes of commanding the King's Army, in case they were oblig'd to march against *Conde*.

The advice of Cardinal *Joieuse*, the Duke of *Epernon*, and *Villeroi* was this. They said the Malecontents had neither Troops, nor Mony, nor Places of safety to retire to; and therefore the Troops of the Houshold ought immediatly to pursue them; and if her Majesty advanc'd but to *Rheims* with that little

little Body, the Prince and Lords being unprovided, would be oblig'd to come in and humbly implore the King's Clemency, at at leaſt to flee in diſorder and confuſion out of the Kingdom. The new Mareſchal *d'Ancre* and the Chancellor *Silleri* were of a contrary Opinion. They maintain'd that the better way at firſt was to try a Negotiation. *Conchini* had no mind that the Duke of *Guiſe*, whom he both hated and fear'd, ſhould have the Command of the Army. And *Silleri* being out with *Villeroy* more than ever, was blindly devoted to *Conchini*. After the death of Madam *de Puiſieux*, Wife to the Chancellor's eldeſt Son, and Grand-Child to *Villeroy*; theſe two Miniſters obſerv'd no meaſures with one another. *Dole* one of the Mareſchal of *Ancre* his Creatures, had put him out of conceit with the deſign'd Marriage of the Marquiſs of *Villeroy* Grand-Child to the Secretary of State; upon the pretence that they had not given to *Dole* the Office of Controuller of the Revenue which the Marquiſs *d'Alincourt*, *Villeroy*'s Son had promis'd him, in caſe the Marriage of the Marquiſs of *Villeroy* to *Conchini*'s Daughter went on. The Chancellor *Silleri* took hold of this opportunity, to take ſhelter under the Mareſchal's Protection, and to ruin his Rival whom *Conchini* had a mind to fall out with. 1614

The ſecond Expedient was more agreeable to the Queen, who depended on *Bouillon*'s Promiſes. The Duke of *Ventadour* and *Boiſiſſe* Councellor of State, were nominated to go and invite the Prince of *Conde*, then at *Chatteauroux* as they thought, to return and take his place at Court. *Villeroy* could not refrain from ſaying, that by ſo doing they expos'd themſelves to the ſame Inconvenience, that *Henry* III. fell under when the League firſt roſe up in Arms. The Duke of *Epernon* had adviſ'd him to march forthwith againſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was not then in a Condition to make Reſiſtance; but that unwary Prince neglected ſuch a ſeaſonable Counſel, and by ſo doing brought upon himſelf thoſe Misfortunes that coſt him his Life. *Pray God*, ſaid *Villeroy*, *the ſame fate do not attend you, ſince you neglect* *The* French *Mercury.* 1614.

to

1614 *to cruſh a Conſpiracy in its Infancy, which is capable to cauſe great Revolutions in the State.* 'Twas thought that old Miniſter ſpoke in that Faſhion, to get the Commandment of the Army to the Duke of *Guiſe*; and that he wiſh'd for a Civil War, which could not but prove fatal to the Mareſchal of *Ancre* and *Silleri*. Both theſe great Men were hated by the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Guiſe*. Had *Conde* gain'd the leaſt advantage, he would have demanded their Removal. And *Guiſe* would not have fail'd to put 'em back, when once he was Commander of the King's Army. *Epernon* took it ill, that his advice for purſuing the Malecontents with open force was not follow'd, and reſolv'd to have no hand in their future Treaties with the Prince and Lords then combin'd; in which the King was going ſhamefully to buy a peace from his Subjects, that would not laſt long.

The Regent's circular Letters, upon Conde's *abſenting himſelf, together with the Lords of his Party.* *The* French *Mercury*, 1614.

When *Ventadour* and *Boiſiſſe* ſet out in queſt of the Prince of *Conde* in *Berri*, the Regent iſſu'd out a Writ, dated *February* 13. to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, to the Governours of Provinces and Places, to the Prevoſts of Merchants, to the Mayors and Sherriffs of Towns, deſiring them to be faithful to the King, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be inveigled by the Prince of *Conde* and his Party. If ye'll believe *Mary de Medicis* theſe Subjects had no Reaſon to complain, neither of the adminiſtration of publick Affairs, nor of any thing relating to their own private Concerns. Her Majeſty had treated the Prince and Lords with all imaginable reſpect. She had loaded 'em with her favours to their own wiſhes; and had concerted no affair of importance without their Knowledge. The Kingdom was equally flouriſhing and quiet; the Dignity of the Crown of *France* was as much kept up, and the People encourag'd more than ever. To write the Hiſtory of a Reign upon Manifeſto's, Prefaces to Edicts and Declarations, Writs and other Letters publiſh'd in the King's Name, is the way to compile falſe Memoirs. However, in order to amuſe the People with the hopes of a better Government, the Regent declar'd

declar'd in her Letter, that ſhe was reſolv'd to call a Convention of the *Notables* (as they call them in *France*) of all the States in the Kingdom, in which meaſures ſhould be concerted for the good of the Kingdom. 1614

Ventadour and *Boiſiſſe* got notice upon the Road, that the Prince of *Conde* was gone from *Chatteauroux* with thirty or forty Horſe, in order to paſs the *Loire*. They diſpatch'd one of their retinue to acquaint him with the Commiſſion her Majeſty had given him, and to know of him where they ſhould wait upon him. *Conde* refus'd to ſee the King's Commiſſioners, and went ſtraight to *Champaigne*, where the Duke of *Nevers* receiv'd him. The Prince was forthwith conducted to *Chalons*, and from thence he and *Nevers* went towards *Mezieres*. *Deſcuroles* commanded there in the abſence of the Marquiſs of *Vieuville*. *Deſcuroles* by a baſe ſort of colluſion with *Nevers*, made a ſhew of ſhutting the Gates of the *Cittadel* upon them, and defending the place in purſuance of the Orders he had receiv'd from *Vieuville*. But the Prince and the Duke of *Nevers* making a ſhew of threatning to force 'em open, unleſs he ſhew'd her Majeſty's Expreſs command for reſiſting them; he then receives the Prince and Duke into the Place. After that, *Nevers* wrote to the Queen complaining of *Vieuville*, and demanding Satisfaction for his reſiſting the Governour of the Province. Was not that inſulting over the Regent, under a pretence of paying a ſort of external Deference to the Majeſty of the Soveraign?

The Duke of Nevers *ſeizes the Citadel of* Meziers *in* Champaigne.

The Prince of *Conde*, the Dukes of *Nevers*, *Mayenne*, *Longueville*, and the other Heads of the Party, being met at *Mezieres*, *Conde* wrote a long Letter to the Queen by way of *Manifeſto*. In which there appear'd an extraordinary Zeal for the Publick Good. He offers to reſign all his Penſions and Grants received from the King into her Majeſty's Hands, as ſoon as the States General aſſembled ſhould be in a Condition to Act with full Liberty. In ſhort, he ſpeaks like the Ancients, whoſe Juſtice,

Conde *writes to the Regent a Letter by way of* Manifeſto.

1614 and Impartiality is cry'd up in Greek and Roman Hiſtories. Since he had a mind to impoſe upon the World, his Actions ſhould have been ſuitable to that well made Diſcourſe. 'Tis true, the complaints that *Conde* and the Lords of his Party gave in, of the waſting of the Revenues, the higheſt Dignities being beſtow'd upon worthleſs Perſons, the over-grown Authority of the Miniſters of State; the ſmall regard that was had to the Prince, the Peers of the Kingdom, and Officers of the Crown; the Obſtacles that Parliaments met with in the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction; the ruining of the Nobility; the exceſſive price of Places of Judicature; the oppreſſion of the People; the omiſſion of calling a general Convention of the States; the precipitant Concluſion of the King's Marriage before his being of Age: All theſe Complaints, I ſay, were well grounded. However notwithſtanding the Prince's Proteſtations that he had no other deſign but to procure an effectual remedy to thoſe crying Pieces of injuſtice; the World was never convinc'd of the uprightneſs of his Intentions, or the Sincerity of his Words. To theſe Grievances he added three or four Demands, which were equally reaſonable, namely a Convention of the States General in three Months at moſt, a Suſpenſion of the King's Marriage, and that of his Siſters, till the end of the Seſſions, and the employing of Men of known Integrity to be about the King's Perſon.

The weakneſs of the Parliament of Paris *upon this occaſion.*

At the ſame time *Conde* writ to the Prince of *Conti* his Uncle; to the Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown. He ſent 'em a Copy of the Letter ſent to the Queen. In his Letter to the Parliament of *Paris*, he call'd 'em the *principal Guardian of the State.* He was willing to be accountable to them for his Actions; and ask'd their advice and concurrence in the great undertaking of a Reformation of the Government. Thus the Kings, Princes, and Great Lords, have for a long time ſported themſelves with a Senat, whoſe Heads being ambitious and enſlav'd to the Court, have neglected to keep up its Reputation and Authority. When they hope

that

that the name of the Parliament of *Paris* will be of uſe to impoſe upon the People, they then beſtow magnificent Elogies upon it, and uſe it with all imaginable reſpect. But as ſoon as ſuch Conſiderations ceaſe, they contemn and ridicule it. Upon this occaſion the Parliament gave proof of their Weakneſs. They would not open the Letter that the Prince of *Conde* had ſent 'em. The Counſellors were appointed to carry it to the Regent. She ſent it back to the Chancellor. I cannot blame theſe grave Magiſtrates for laying no great ſtreſs upon a young Prince, whoſe indifferent Genius, and his mean and ſelfiſh Conduct could but give ſmall hopes: But after all, what ſhall we think of thoſe, who pretend to be the Guardians of the Kingdom? Here they dare not open a Letter ſent 'em by the firſt Prince of the Blood, complaining of the Mal-adminiſtration of affairs during a Minority. Our Fathers were then born for Slavery, and we their Poſterity have follow'd their Steps. 1614

Reflexions upon Cardinal Perron's *Anſwer to the Prince of* Conde.

None of the Parliaments had the courage to ſend the Prince an anſwer. Several Officers of the Crown ſent their Packets to Court without opening them. Some private Perſons printed Anſwers to them. Particularly Cardinal *Perron* wrote one which merits our Reflexion. This mercenary and flattering Pen durſt not diſown, but there were great diſorders in the State, under the Minority of *Lewis* XIII. which wanted to be reform'd. Since that Minority, and under the Reign of his Son, care has been taken to enflame them. Then what ſort of Reformation do we now want? And who hereafter will dare to ask for it? *One of the Ancients*, ſays the *Cardinal, has wiſely ſaid, that the worſt of Princes is better than a Civil War. Thus may we ſay of the Government of the State; there's no Mal-adminiſtration ſo pernicious, as Civil Diſorders.* 'Tis no matter whether the Author of that Maxim be Greek or Latin. If that Maxim be taken in all its extent, it tends only to eſtabliſh Tyranny in the World. What! Is it better then to ſuffer the Ex-

1614 travagancies and Cruelties of a *Caligula*, or a *Nero*; than to take up Arms and reſiſt theſe deteſtable Monſters? If it be ſaid that theſe two Princes never had their Parallels; I grant it. But there are Princes who follow cloſe enough the Politicks of *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, and *Charles* IX of *France*. Is it not lawful to defend our lives and liberties againſt ſuch Tyrants?

I own that 'tis often better to ſuffer a bad Prince to run a certain length, rather than kindle a Civil War. A good Prince is a very extraordinary thing. The World would never be in Peace, were it allowable to riſe up in Arms, when the Soveraign does not perform all his devoirs. But for a King, that loads his Subjects with exceſſive Taxes, to ſatisfie his own unmeaſur'd Luxury and boundleſs ambition; that ſcruples not to Sacrifice the lives of Millions of men, to the vaſt and unjuſt projects he thinks fit to form; that undoes the Nobility at pleaſure; that ſinks the Priviledges of Princes and great Men; that orders his Edicts, tho' never ſo contrary to the publick Good, to be Enregiſtred, before any Remonſtrances be given in againſt them; that ſtops the mouths of the Parliaments; that without any form of Juſtice Baniſhes or Empriſons thoſe who teſtifie their diſlike of his uſurpations over his Subjects and Neighbours; that without any reaſon aboliſhes the moſt ſacred and inviolable Laws; that places a merit in making a Million of men miſerable, becauſe they will not renounce a Religion, in which they have had the liberty, ſo to ſpeak, to be born and bred up; that makes it his only buſineſs to enſlave a Nation that was always free. That ſuch a Soveraign as I've now deſcrib'd is better than a Civil War, undertaken and carried on ſo as to promiſe ſome relief to the evils, which our patience would enflame; is an advance that Cardinal *Perron* with all his Learning and Eloquence will never recommend to men of ſenſe.

The Queen's Anſwer to the Prince *of* Conde.

Mary de Medicis made a long Anſwer to the Prince of *Conde*, in the form of a *Manifeſto*; in order to clear her ſelf from the imputations charg'd upon her,

and

nd to expoſe the diſorderly Conduct of her accuſer. Tho' her Majeſty did not defend her ſelf over well upon ſome Articles, yet ſhe did not Anſwer amiſs to others. The greateſt part of the diſorders, complain'd of by the Prince, had commenc'd before her Regency. The covetouſneſs of *Conde* himſelf and the great Lords, had forc'd her to conſume the Treaſure amaſs'd by the late King. They were diſaffected, they form'd Cabals, and threaten'd an Inſurrection; ſo that ſhe was forth-with oblig'd to diſtribute Money, to pacifie ſome, and confirm others. But to what purpoſe did the Prince come to complain, after four Years of the Regency were expir'd. Had not he done better, to have employ'd at firſt, the intereſt and authority to which he was entitled by his Quality, in cauſing a good Council to be form'd, and the Adminiſtration of Affairs to be well regulated? But inſtead of minding theſe eſſential points, he only gave himſelf to intrigues, to prefer one, and diſgrace another. His irreſolution and ſoftneſs made him the tool of all the factions at Court. But after all, *Mary de Medicis* was apprehenſive that the Prince might be Fortified by a general diſaffection of all the States of the Kingdom, and therefore to appeaſe the Spirits that were upon the ferment, ſhe promis'd in her Anſwer to *Conde*, to call a Convention of the States General, to concert the reformation of the diſorders complain'd of. This ſtroke did not ſucceed amiſs. The Prince's faction decreas'd apace; and her Majeſty found a way to hinder the Convention of States to do all the good they look'd for.

1614

French Mercury 1614.

She did not put ſuch confidence in the Negotiation reſolv'd upon in Council, nor in the aſſurances *Bouillon* had given her; but that ſhe had a mind to raiſe an Army to oppoſe the Prince's Party, in caſe they refus'd the favourable terms of accommodation, which *Mr. de Thou* was ſent into *Champaign* to offer. This Magiſtrate's ability and integrity were much valued by the Prince and Lords. He makes them agree upon a Conference at *Soiſſons*, in order to the adjuſting of their difference with the Queen. How-

The Regent raiſes 6000 Swiſs.

French Mercury 1610.

1614 ever the Queen had a mind to put her ſelf beyond all fear from the diſaffected Party; and to that effect deſign'd to diſpatch Colonel *Galatis* to *Swiſſerland*, to raiſe 6000 men of that Nation. But ſhe ſuſpected the Duke of *Rohan*, to whom the late King had ſecur'd the place of Colonel General to the *Swiſs*, and durſt not entruſt him with the Body of the Troops, that would make the principal force of the King's Army. To avoid this inconvenience, ſhe thought to put another man at the head of the *Swiſs*, with the Duke of *Rohan*'s conſent, he being ſatisfied by an equivalent ſum of Money. *Rohan* thought of nothing but making himſelf the head of the Proteſtant Party which he had a mind to defend, and to keep up the intereſt that his Zeal and Probity had gain'd him in *Poitou*, *Guienne*, and *Languedock*; where he had maintain'd the intereſt of the Reform'd Party againſt the Conſtable Governour of the Province. He did not trouble himſelf about keeping a place that ty'd him to the King. A ſum of Money ſeem'd to him more ſuitable in that juncture of affairs.

Baſſompierre *made Colonel General of the* Swiſs *in the room of the Duke of* Rohan.

A Man was to be choſen, who was at once devoted to the Regent, and agreeable to the *Swiſs*. She propos'd *Baſſompierre* to the Council; but *Villeroy* had a mind to ſerve the Duke of *Longueville*, whoſe Houſe he had an inviolable affection for. He cunningly repreſented that the Colonel General of the *Swiſs* was always a Prince, and that the late King agreed to give it to none of an inferiour Rank, when he renew'd the ancient Alliance with the 13 Cantons. *Purſuant to this Compact*, ſaid *Villeroi*, *the Duke of* Rohan *was pitch'd upon as a Prince of the Blood of* Navarre *and* Scotland. Several of the Duke of *Longueville* his Anceſtors have commanded the *Swiſs*. We may quickly take him off from the diſaffected Party, by offering him the Poſt of his Fathers. *Mary* did not think it proper to truſt a young Lord, that declar'd againſt her, and was engag'd in many ſcuffles with the Marquiſs of *Ancre* about the exerciſe of their Offices. *Longueville* was Governour of *Picardy*, and *Conchini* of the Town and Caſtle of *Amiens*.

miens. *Mary de Medicis*, thinking *Baſſompierre* to be excluded by the Treaty with the *Swiſs*, propos'd *Mr. de Guiſe*, who unluckily dyed ſoon after. *Villeroi* warded her off once more, by Remonſtrating that by that means the diſaffected Party would be more incens'd, ſince they complain'd already of the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. 1614

It happen'd well for *Baſſompierre*, that they did not then come to a Reſolution. As ſoon as the Queen her ſelf told him that he was excluded from that Poſt, as being no Prince; he ply'd hard to remove that obſtacle. One of the *Montmorencies* had been employ'd in that Poſt, by the conſent of the *Swiſs* Nation; and *Galati*, *Baſſompierre*'s Friend, promis'd to procure the conſent of the Cantons on his behalf. He acquainted the Regent with the motion; and ſhe gave him three weeks to try what he could do. *Galatis* went ſtraight to *Swiſſerland*, and obtain'd leave to raiſe 6000 men, and the conſent of the 13 Cantons on *Galatis* behalf. By this, means the *Lorain* Gentleman was made Colonel General of the *Swiſs*. To make an end of ſuch an advantageous buſineſs, he himſelf advanc'd the Money ſtipulated to the Duke of *Rohan*.

But his Majeſty afterwards reimburs'd it. *Baſſompierre* fear'd that if the Duke of *Rohan* were not ſpeedily pay'd, he might ſtart ſome intrigue to remove him from an Employment that was capable to raiſe him higher.

The Conduct of the Proteſtants in Conde's *affair.*

Bouillon deſigning to encourage the Prince and Lords to ſtand out againſt the Government, flatter'd 'em with hopes that the Reform'd Churches would declare for 'em. He had purpoſely communicated the project to ſome of *Rohan*'s moſt intimate Friends. The crafty Marſhal did it either to make the Prince believe that *Rohan* would willingly joyn in with his Party; or elſe to raiſe a greater ſuſpicion at Court of a Lord whom he had a mind to ruin, in order to make his own ſervice more neceſſary to the Queen. The Prince was ſo much convinc'd of the favourable diſpoſition of the *Huguenots*, that he wrote to the Deputies General of the Reform'd Churches,

Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan.

1614 *The life of* du Pleſſis, *l.* 3. 1614.

thinking to oblige them, by telling that he had not forgot the intereſt of the Proteſtants in his *Manifeſto* to the Queen. But the ſage *du Pleſſis* was ſo cautious as to prevent the Deputies General, and give 'em to know how the Proteſtants ought to behave in that juncture. He firſt made ſome reflections upon the Prince's Conduct, and the falſe meaſures he had taken with the diſaffected Lords; and then wiſely repreſented to them, that *thoſe who halt at their firſt ſetting out are not able to travel far; and thoſe who begin their plea with a requeſt*, will be glad to come to a Compoſition. When he read the Prince's Letter to the Queen, he told the Ambaſſador of the States General of the United Provinces, very judiciouſly, that he did not underſtand from what Principle the Charity of the Prince and his Party for the Reform'd Churches could proceed. *Theſe Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *are as much devoted to the Pope, as the Queen of whom they complain. The Court of* Rome *will interpoſe for their peace; and their Emiſſaries will not fail to render us more odious, if we be ſo fooliſh as to ſide with thoſe that hate us at the bottom, and would only make uſe of us to get better terms for themſelves.*

The Wiſdom of du Pleſſis Mornay.

Upon the firſt noiſe of the Prince's motions, *Villarnoux* had come to ſee *du Pleſſis* his Father-in-law. He preſently ſent his Son-in-law back again to acquaint the Deputies General, that the Reform'd Churches ſhould take care of falling under the reproach of beſtirring themſelves upon another ground, than the Liberty of their own Conſciences; that their meddling with matters purely Civil, would injure their Cauſe; and that neither Catholicks nor Proteſtants ought to meddle with the Reformation of the State. *Nay, put the caſe*, ſays he, *that we ought to joyn in with them, as being Frenchmen; the occaſion is not favourable. In all probability the Prince's project will not take. His retreat will be look'd upon as an effect of his reſtleſsneſs, or as a deſire of confuſion. The Queen will eaſily break all their meaſures, by promiſing to call a Convention*

of

of the States General, and to put off the Kings Marriage. To what purpoſe do they arraign themſelves in a corner of France? A handful of men, that the King can attack without diverting his Forces, will e're long be reduc'd to implore his clemency. The Event juſtified the thoughts of this wiſe Old Gentleman. *Conde* had not come off with ſo much advantage; had not the Marſhal *d'Ancre*, apprehended that the Duke of *Guiſe* would become too powerful, if he got the Command of the Royal Army. 1614

The Prince of Conde ſollicites the Proteſtants.

When Marſhal *Bouillon* joyn'd the Prince of *Conde* in *Champaign*, he adviſ'd him to ſend ſome of his Domeſticks to the Heads of the Proteſtant Army, to exhort 'em to take up Arms. *Conde* and *Bouillon* had each of 'em their own deſigns in acting this part. The former expected to make a more Honourable Treaty with the Regent, if the Proteſtants were willing to declare for him. The other thought to double the neceſſity of his good ſervice in recalling the Prince and diſcontented Lords, and thwarting the deſigns of the Duke of *Rohan* among the Proteſtants. *De Marais* Lieutenant of the Prince's Guards was a Proteſtant. He ſeem'd to be a proper Perſon to Negotiate with the Duke of *Rohan*. Accordingly he was diſpatch'd to St. *Angeli*, with orders to paſs firſt thro' *Saumur*, and try the Pulſe of *du Pleſſis Mornay* his old Friend. They did not doubt, if *Rohan* and *du Pleſſis* agreed to the Prince's terms, but the intereſt and reputation of theſe two men would engage almoſt all the Proteſtant Party.

Mornay's wiſe Anſwer to the Regent, and to Conde.

Mary de Medicis on the other hand threatned the Heads of the Proteſtant Party. She had ſent with all ſpeed to *Leſdiguieres*, deſiring him to employ his Intereſt at once with the Prince of *Conde* and the Proteſtant Party, to bring the one to an Accommodation, and to hinder the others to be inveigled. The Duke of *Rohan* was likewiſe ſollicited in the Regent's Name.

He

1614 He anſwer'd, his deſign was to be always united with the Reform'd; and that the ſureſt way of reducing the Prince of *Conde* ſpeedily, was to ſatisfie the Reform'd Churches, who were capable to caſt the Balance on what ſide they join'd to. As for *du Pleſſis Mornay*, Preſident *Jeannin*, and the Queen wrote very obliging Letters to him. They knew well, that this upright Gentleman, ſo zealous for the good of Religion and his Country, would be gain'd by ſhewing a good Diſpoſition to maintain the Edicts granted by the late King to his Proteſtant Subjects. With this view, they gave *du Pleſſis* the greateſt hopes in the World upon that Head. *Jeannin* aſſur'd him, that the Queen in concluding the double Marriage with *Spain*, had not any joint deſign with the Houſe of *Auſtria* to ruin the Proteſtants. *The Marriage that we are now negotiating in* England, ſaid that cunning Miniſter, *is a convincing proof of the contrary. That buſineſs is already ſo far advanc'd, that, to my mind, there's nothing can ſtop it.* In the mean time there was no real deſign to conclude upon it: This was only a Faint to amuſe the Proteſtants, whom the double Marriage had alarm'd all over *Europe*.

Du Pleſſis gave to the Regent and Miniſters all the aſſurance imaginable of his Fidelity and Conſtancy in ſerving their Majeſties. He only made uſe of this occaſion to ſhew the Court how neceſſary it was for the Peace of the State, exactly to obſerve the Edicts granted to thoſe who were better Subjects than the Catholicks, while the free Exerciſe of their Religion was allow'd 'em. *Du Pleſſis* his Anſwer to the Prince of *Conde* is yet more worthy of his conſummat Prudence. *We have ſeen ſeveral Princes*, ſaid he, *take up with the ſpecious Pretext of the publick good, when at the ſame time they thought of nothing but their own private Intereſt. I am ready to believe that the Intentions of his Highneſs are juſt and ſincere: But that is not enough. We muſt chuſe the lawful Means to compaſs a good End. All the World knows there are Diſorders in the State: Nay they are greater than we imagine:*

But

But 'tis not prudential for the Prince to give a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe. The good Cities of the Kingdom do ſo much dread a Civil War, that they'l never ſide with the Prince. Beſides, his deſign is to rectifie the Abuſes, which 'tis the Intereſt of the Cities to ſuffer. Thoſe who tell him that the Proteſtants will riſe up, they either do not know us, or elſe they have a mind to overreach his Highneſs. They offer him People that are not at their Diſpoſal. 'Tis true, we complain of ſome Grievances; but we'll continue in Peace while the Edicts are maintain'd. Neither will the Allies of the Crown approve of the Prince's Motions. France *is the only Counterpoiſe to outweigh the Grandeur of* Spain. *If the Kingdom fall into a Civil War, who'll be able to withſtand the Ambitious Projects of the Houſe of* Auſtria. 1614

The Prince of *Conde*'s Agent was ſomewhat better receiv'd at S. *Angeli* than at *Saumur*. He intreated the Duke of *Rohan* to take up Arms on the Prince's behalf, promiſing that his Highneſs will never be reconcil'd with the Court without the Duke's Conſent. The Duke did not ſeem very averſe from joining the Prince's Party; but his diſtruſt of *Bouillon*, whoſe Tricks and ill will to him he knew, made him more reſerv'd. Before he would engage, he would ſend one of his Confidents to the Prince, to diſcover the true deſign of the Prince and the diſaffected Lords. When *du Pleſſis* heard that the Duke was upon Terms with the Prince; *Mr.* de Rohan, ſays he, *does not conſider that he'll appeaſe all the Troubles, by joining in with them. The Queen will more readily ſatisfie the Prince; and the Mareſchal* Bouillon, *being jealous of* Rohan, *will conclude the Peace the ſooner.* No body could have better foretold what happen'd. The Duke's Envoy had a very good reception from the Prince. The Party gave out that *Rohan* offer'd 1000 Horſe and 8000 Foot; by which means the Treaty with the Court being already much advanc'd was quickly concluded, and the Prince obtain'd what otherwiſe would never have been granted. As for

The Duke of Rohan *ſeems to liſten to* Conde's *propoſal.*

Leſdiguieres

1614 *Leſdiguieres* he contented himſelf with exhorting the Prince to Peace, and offering his good Offices to that Effect.

The Duke of Vendoſme's *eſcape.*

Cæſar Duke of *Vendoſme* being taken in the *Louvre*, and confin'd to his Chamber, made ſhift to eſcape about eight days after. He went towards *Brittany*. But as he came to *Arcenis* he underſtood the Queen had order'd matters ſo well on that ſide, that the Duke of *Montbaſon*, who was ſent to Command in his place, and the Count *De Vertu*, with the conſent of the Parliament of *Rheims*, would ſhut the Gates of the beſt Cities in the Province upon him. However *Gondi* Duke of *Rets* joyn'd *Vendoſme*. They drew together ſome Troops, and ſet about Fortifying *Blavet*, of which they were Maſters, together with ſome places of the Dutchy of *Ponthievre*, belonging to the Houſe of *Merceur*; *Cæſar* having Married the Heireſs of that Family. He wrote to the King, complaining of the injuſt Treatment he met with. Inſtead of anſwering the Duke, who never could make himſelf to be either fear'd or eſteem'd; they ſent Orders to the Count of *Vertus*, and the Parliament of *Brittany*, to hinder him to raiſe or aſſemble Troops, not excepting the Duke's Company of Guards, unleſs he ſhew'd the King's expreſs Commiſſion. *Cæſar* wrote a ſecond time to the Queen. He complains in that Letter of the affront in degrading him, ſo to ſpeak, from his Government, and juſtifies his Fortifying of *Blavet*, as much as he can. The Court minded this and the former Letter both alike. The Regent being more concern'd about the Negotiations in *Champaign*, neglected the Duke of *Vendoſme* till the Treaty with *Conde* were concluded.

Conſtable Montmorency *died.*

Henry Duke of *Montmorency*, a Peer and Conſtable of *France*, died in his Government of *Languedock* in the time of theſe Troubles. The late King honour'd him with the higheſt Military Dignity, which had been enjoy'd by no body from the

the Death of his Father. Hiſtory does not furniſh us with any great Character of this Conſtable. He was a Man of an indifferent Merit. The judicious Preſident *de Thous* is far from giving ſo good a Character of him, as of the Marſhal *Montmorency* his eldeſt Son. Some time before, *Henry* his Son had Married a Daughter of the Duke of *Bracciano*, of the Family of the *Urſins* in *Italy*. He had beſides three Daughters, two of the firſt Marriage, one of which Married the Duke of *Ventadour*, and the other the Count *d' Auvergne*. The third Daughter, by a ſecond Marriage, was Married to the Prince of *Conde*. 1614

The Duke of Savoy avoids meeting with the Marquis de Cœuvres the French Ambaſſadour in Italy.

The Duke of *Ventadour*, the Preſidents *de Thou* and *Jeannin*, *Boiſiſſe* and *Bullion* Counſellors of State, had a Conference at *Soiſſons*, on the behalf of *Mary de Medicis*, with the Prince of *Conde* and the Lords of his Faction. In the mean time the Marquis *de Cœuvres*, Ambaſſadour extraordinary from *France* to *Italy*, was about his Negotiation in the buſineſs of *Mantua*. The Duke of *Savoy* knew that this new French Miniſter was to joyn with the Ambaſſador ſent from *Spain* at the ſame time, in urging his Highneſs to Disband his Troops, and conclude the Marriage of his Daughter Dutcheſs *Dowager* of *Mantua*, with Cardinal *Gonzague*, her late Husband's Brother and Succeſſor. As ſoon as he heard of the arrival of *Cœuvres*, he went from *Turin*, under the pretence of going to rectifie ſome diſorders in the County of *Nice* in *Provence*.

He could not digeſt the haughty Carriage of the *Spaniſh* Court to him. Two of his Sons were there in *Spain* as Hoſtages; namely *Victor Amedeus*, the eldeſt Son of the two, whom his Father had uncautiouſly ſent upon the difference betwen him and the Houſe of *Mantua*, and *Philibert* whom the *Spaniard* had the precaution to detain when he was ſent to make Satisfaction to his Catholick Majeſty. 'Tis true, they had given *Philibert* the Command

1614 mand of the *Spaniſh* Galleys. But that important place, properly ſpeaking, was no better than a gentile Priſon. The Guard and Officers that waited upon him, had a watchful Eye over his Conduct and Actions. Tho' theſe two Hoſtages, ſo dear to the Father, ought to have aſſur'd the King of *Spain*, that *Charles Emmanuel* had no deſign againſt *Milan*; yet his Majeſty ſent him word to lay down his Arms preſently; and his Orders were ſo much the more preſſing and high ſeaſon'd, that the Regent of *France* back'd 'em.

The Italians *jealous of the correſpondence between the two Crowns.*

The Republick of *Venice* and ſeveral Princes of *Italy*, were mightily diſpleas'd to ſee that the Alliance between the two Crowns, by Vertue of the double Marriage, would only ſerve to enſlave *Italy*, and that hereafter they muſt unavoidably undergo whatever *Spain* ſhould enjoyn, joyntly with the Regent of *France*, who would ſacrifice the Intereſt and Authority of her Son, to the prejudice ſhe was poſſeſs'd with, *viz.* That the ſureſt way to be abſolute in *France*, was to keep up a good Underſtanding with the Court of *Spain*. The Cardinal Duke of *Mantua*, whom the two Crowns protected, complain'd heavily that the King of *Spain* ſhould oblige him to Marry one that he did not love, and ſhould offer to take away the young Princeſs his Niece. *Charles Emmanuel* complain'd yet more, that his Daughter ſhould be diſpoſed of ſo abſolutely, and that he ſhould be conſtrained to lye at the *Spaniard's* diſcretion, by disbanding his Troops. *What!* ſaid he to the *Italian* Miniſters about him; *are we become Subjects to the King of* Spain? *When we do the leaſt thing that diſpleaſes them, muſt we go and humbly beg his Majeſties Pardon, and undergo the penalty he ſhall be pleas'd to inflict? Shall we ſtill ſuffer the Caprices and Pride of his Miniſters or Governours, who will make War againſt us upon the leaſt pretence, when we are not able to withſtand their Enterpriſes.*

The

1614

Tho' ſeveral Soveraigns of *Italy* were not troubled to ſee the Duke of *Savoy* humbled, yet they murmur'd ſtill; every one was affraid leaſt the Court of *Madrid* ſhould Treat them in the like ſawcy manner. The Prince of *Piemont* gave his Father notice, that the Duke of *Lerma*, the Enemy of their Family, threaten'd to humble the Pride of the Duke of *Savoy*, and to puniſh him for his Enterprizes. *We muſt either yield*, ſaid *Victor Amedeus*, *or make account to feel the effects of that ſpite that the imperious Favourite has taken up againſt us.* All theſe Remonſtrances did not move the Duke. He was reſolv'd to do nothing beneath his Quality, and proteſted he would rather leave his two Sons to the diſcretion of the *Spaniards*, and die with Sword in Hand, than become a Slave to another. Upon this account he went from *Turin*, as ſoon as he heard that the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors were come to meet with him. He was unwilling to have Conditions impos'd upon him by theſe two Miniſters who had concerted 'em together. He had ſtill ſome hopes that the Motions of the Prince of *Conde* would change the face of the Affairs of *Europe*, and by that means he would find ſome way of getting off with his Honour.

The Spaniards *underhand thwart the Negotiations of the Marquis of* Cœuvres.

In the mean time he gave Orders that the Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns ſhould be receiv'd with all imaginable Reſpect. He wrote to the Marquiſs *de Cœuvres* the moſt fair and obliging Letters, ſometimes praying him to come to *Nice*, and ſometimes promiſing to return to *Turin* in a few Days. The Ambaſſador eaſily ſaw through the meaning of theſe Things. And wrote the whole Story to the Court of *France*. They thought that it did not become the Dignity of a King to ſuffer his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to be thus gull'd by the Duke of *Savoy*. And ſent to *Cœuvres*

to

1614 to go to *Mantua*, paſſing firſt by *Milan*, in order to concert ſome meaſures with the Spaniſh Miniſters. *Inoioſa* receiv'd the Ambaſſador with a great deal of Civility. And a great deal of care was taken to furniſh him with agreeable Diverſion in the time of the *Carneval*. But when he offer'd to ſpeak of the buſineſs of *Mantua*, the Spaniſh Miniſters, who would not ſuffer that the Court of *France* ſhould have any Hand in the Accommodation, told him that the buſineſs would be adjuſted at *Madrid*, whither the Cardinal Duke had ſent one of his Principal Miniſters.

Then the Ambaſſador of *France* began to ſmell that the Spaniſh jealouſie would ſecretly thwart his Negotiation. He ſets out for *Mantua*. Immediately the Governour of *Milian* diſpatches a *Franciſcan* with Orders to Sollicit privately the Cardinal Duke, to refuſe the Mediation of *France*; and to encourage him to hope for more advantageous Terms, by the Interpoſition of the King of *Spain* alone, who was offended by the Delays and Reſiſtance of the Duke of *Savoy*. The Prince *Caſtiglione*, the Emperor's Commiſſioner, went himſelf to *Mantua*; and kept himſelf cloſe in one of the Duke's Houſes near the Town. This Journey was undertaken by the advice of *Inoioſa*, who had a mind to have the *Franciſcan*'s words back'd by *Caſtiglione*; or at leaſt that *Caſtiglione* ſhould interpoſe the Name and Authority of the Emperor, as a new Obſtacle to the French Miniſter's proceeding on the Affair of *Mantua*. *Caſtiglione* repreſented to the Cardinal Duke, that the conteſt between him and the Duke of *Savoy* related to a Fee of the Empire; and therefore his Imperial Majeſty would take it ill, if the difference were put to the Arbitration of any other Power.

In ſpite of all theſe *Spaniſh* Intreagues, the Cardinal *Ferdinand* follow'd the advice of the Republick of *Venice*, in accepting of the terms propos'd by *France*, and conſenting to all their demands, providing he ſhould have the Liberty of keeping Princeſs *Mary* of *Mantua*. He only ſcrupled a little to pardon the Subjects of *Monferrat*, that had ſided with *Savoy*; but at laſt he granted it. So that the Marqueſs of *Ceuvres* obtain'd the Cardinal Duke's conſent to marry his Siſter in Law, Dutcheſs *Margaret*; to chuſe, before the Conſummation of the Marriage, Arbitrators for examining the Duke of *Savoy*'s claim to *Monferrat*; to pardon his Rebel Subjects, then under the Duke's Protection; and in fine to demand no Reparation upon the account of the War. *Ferdinand* diſpatch'd a Courier to *France* to acquaint the Regent with his Conceſſions; and to intreat her to Recommend theſe terms to the King of *Spain*. The Court of *Madrid* made as if they would not wait to be ſolicited upon that Head. The Catholick King pretending to act all alone on this occaſion, and to give Laws to both the Parties concern'd, ſent Expreſs Orders to ſtrike an Accommodation upon theſe Terms. The Republick of *Venice* expected that this Expedient would free *Italy* from the War that threaten'd her; and that in caſe the Duke of *Savoy* refus'd to accept of the Terms propos'd joyntly by the Two Crowns, the Cardinal Duke by his Submiſſion, would engage the Two Crowns on his ſide.

1614. *The Duke of* Mantua *accepts the terms propos'd by* France.

The Marqueſs of *Ceuvres* went to divert himſelf at *Venice*, while he waited for leave to return to *France*. *Mary de Medicis* gave him leave. She was content to make a ſhew of her Authority in *Italy*, where the *Spaniards* behav'd themſelves like Soveraigns. *Ceuvres* had Orders to return by way of *Turin*, and ſolicited the Duke of

The Duke of Savoy *alſo makes a ſhew of accepting.*

1614. *Savoy* to accept of the terms that the Cardinal Duke had agreed to. The Court of *France* were not very concerned for the Duke's yielding so speedily to the Accomodation. They were perswaded the *Spaniards* would vex him enough, and were glad at the bottom that the Turbulent and Pragmatical Spirit had enough to do in *Italy*, so that he could not assist the Prince of *Conde*. The *Marquis* of *Ursin* was then lately come to *Turin* to treat with the Duke of *Savoy* in the Name of the Malcontents of *France*. *Ceuvres* was mightily caress'd by *Charles Emmanuel*. He seem'd to be dispos'd to the Accomodation Negotiated at *Mantua*: But under the pretence that the *Spaniards* display'd their ill will against him, he continued to raise new Troops and fortifie himself more than ever.

Sir Mem. Rec. tom. 3. p. 222.

New Troops rais'd at Turin.

Nani Hist. Ven. l. 1. 1614.

Charles Emmanuel was mightily incens'd at what the Prince of *Piemont*, then return'd from *Madrid*, told him of his cold and haughty Reception in *Spain*, and the Duke of *Lerma*'s Aversion to the house of *Savoy*. He did not content himself with Eternal Invectives upon the King of *Spain*'s designs against the Liberty of the Princes of *Italy*; but made it his business to find out ways for resisting whoever attack'd him. Presently he enters into a Negotiation with *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*. *John* Count of *Nassaw* engages in his Service, being tempted by a large pension. He raises new Suiss Regiments, and offers to employ several *French* Officers; and in fine sets Intrigues on foot with all the States that were either Enemies to, or Jealous of the Monarchy of *Spain*. What misery was it for his poor Subjects to lye thus at the Discretion of a Turbulent, Ambitious, and Revengeful Soveraign? To day they are ruin'd in the Execution of a Chimerical Project: To morrow they fall a Sacrifice to gratify his boundless Ambition; another time they're undone in the Revenge of an injury,

injury, that a Sage and Judicious a Prince would wisely conceal. Such was the Case of *Savoy* and *Piemont*, while *Charles Emmanuel* liv'd. 1614

A Negotiation with Conde and those of his party.

The *Marquis* of *Ceuvres*, before his departure from *Italy*, receiv'd advice that the difference between the Regent and Prince of *Conde* was almost Accomodated.

These news broke the Duke of *Savoy*'s Measures. He flattered himself that he would have had an Opportunity of pursuing his Pretensions to *Monferrat*, in spite of the King of *Spain*, at a time when he would be taken up in assisting *Mary de Midicis* in the Civil War with *Conde* and his party. The treaty that was to be concluded between the Regent and *Conde* at S. *Menehoud* in *Champaigne* was not so certain, but that the Prince still kept up his Correspondence with *Savoy*, and the Kingdom was still in a Ferment. These Considerations gave some hopes to *Charles Emmanuel*, that he might see himself in a Condition to make the Governor of *Milan* sensible that his Master was not in a capacity to be absolute Master of all the affairs of *Italy*. Before I recount the new scuffle between *Savoy* and *Inoiosa*, or rather, and the Court of *Madrid*; 'twill be proper to resume the Sequel of the affairs of *France*, and give some account of the Duke of *Ventadour* and the Kings Commissioners, their Negotiation with the Prince of *Conde* and the disaffected Lords, at the interview of *Soissons*. The Prince and his party came thither with 6 or 700 horse, and about 4000 foot. The Duke of *Mayenne* Governor of the Isle of *France* had put a strong Garrison in the City of *Soissons*, for the safety of the Prince and the Lords that accompanyed him.

Mem. of the Reg. of Mary de Med. French Mer. 1614.

On the 14 of *April* they met, for the first time, in the Castle of *Soissons*. The Prince of *Conde*

1614. and the diſaffected Lords proteſted, both generally and particularly, that they deſign'd nothing but to ſerve his Majeſty, and inſure the repoſe of *Europe*. They demanded three things of the Regent; That the States General of the Kingdom ſhould be forthwith conven'd; the double Marriage with *Spain* Suſpended; and that Arms ſhould be laid down on both ſides. Thus far every thing went on very eaſily. They made as if they had only the Publick Good in their view. But at the bottom they reſerv'd to themſelves a Power of treating, not only the Concerns of Liberty and the certainty of a Convention of States; but likewiſe the claims of the Prince and every one of the Lords, for their own Private Intereſt. A Convocation of the States was agree'd to without any difficulty. They demanded a Suſpenſion of the double Marriage till the end of the Seſſions of the Convocation. The King's Commiſſioners had only Orders to promiſe a Suſpenſion till the King were of Age. And for a *Salvo* to the Authority of the Regent who had Negotiated and Solemnly concluded the affair with the Crown of *Spain*; They would not have that Article inſerted in the Publick treaty; but offer'd a Letter from the Regent to the Prince, in which ſhe Engag'd to put off the double Marriage, till the King were of Age. The offer was accepted with this Modification. 'Twas only a peice of Formality. The Convocation was to break up before the King was of Age, and ſo the double Marriage was not to be Conſummated till the end of their Seſſions.

The Prince of Conde goes from Soiſſons to Champagne.

What *Conde* and the Lords ~~of his~~ party propos'd for their own Private Intereſt, caus'd great conteſts in the Council of *Mary de Medicis*. Under the pretence of providing for their own ſafety, the Prince and diſaffected Lords requir'd that ſome important places ſhould be put into their hands, together with ſome other

grants

grants that they found moſt convenient. There was a Neceſſity of ſending *Couriers* to Court, to receive Inſtructions upon that head. This gave the King's Army time to re-inforce themſelves conſiderably. *Galati* brought home the 6000 Swiſs, he was Commiſſion'd to raiſe. *Baſſompeire* their new *Colonel* General went to receive them at *Troies* in *Champaigne*. From thence he conducted them to *Vitri*, where *Praſlain* was drawing together the King's Troops.

1614. *A diviſion in the Regent's Council about the demands of the P. of Conde.*

Theſe Motions made the Prince of *Conde* jealous; whereupon he went from *Soiſſons*, and wrote to the Queen, thanking her for the Three Articles agreed to, and acquainting her Majeſty that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and Marſhal *Bouillon* continued ſtill at *Soiſſons*, with full Power to treat upon the other Articles. *Conde* had a mind to have taken poſſeſſion of *Vitri*, with the little Army he had drawn together about *Sedan*; but the King's Troops prevented him. However, he made his Repriſals, by helping the Duke of *Nevers* to make himſelf Maſter of S. *Menehoude*.

When the particular Demands of the Prince, and the diſcontented Lords were propos'd in the Council of *Mary de Medicis*, they were of different Opinions. The Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Epernon*, *Bellegarde*, Cardinal *Joieuſe*, and *Villeroy* Secretary of State, cry'd out upon the Indignity of ſuch Terms, which the King could not grant, with his Honour, or without diveſting himſelf of the Royal Authority. *Guiſe* and *Epernon* ſaid openly; *That if the Regent granted their Enemies Places of Strength, they would demand the like on their part, and would ſeek for Aſſiſtance even without the Kingdom.* This was an open Threat that they would joyn with the Crown of *Spain*,

1614. The Deſign ſeem'd to be concerted, becauſe
Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 3. p. 238. *Philip*'s Miniſters declar'd openly, that their Maſter would not ſend the *Infanta* into *France*, while the Enemies of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had the Aſcendant. *Mary de Medicis* at firſt ſeem'd to be mov'd, by the Reaſons given in by thoſe who were for defeating *Conde* by open Force. The Parliaments, moſt of the Military Officers, and in a word, almoſt all the Kingdom continued to be at her beck. There was no Commotion among the Proteſtants; Only the Duke of *Rohan* perhaps might be tempted to joyn in with *Conde*. But *Rohan* made as if he would not embarque till he ſaw how Matters ſtood. And put the caſe as ye will, 'twas an eaſie matter to ſtop *Rohan*, by promiſing ſome ſatisfaction to the Reform'd Churches, about the Edicts of Pacification; and above all, by refuſing the King of *Spain*'s Offers, of ſupplying the Regent with Men, whom he did not ſtand in need of. She had Money enough, and a good Army. *Conde*, and the Lords of his Party, were puſh'd into a Corner of the Kingdom, without the hopes of Forreign Aſſiſtance, and without the Neceſſary Proviſions for carrying on a War.

The Intrigues of the Marquis of Ancre for hindring the Regent to make War.

Mary de Medicis would have liſten'd to this Advice, which ſeem'd to be moſt advantageous for her Repntation and Authority; had not the Marſhal *Ancre*, and Chancellor *Sileri* diſſwaded her.

They did not content themſelves with producing in Council, Reaſons for granting to *Conde*, and his Party, the greateſt part of their Pretenſions, but ſet Intrigues on foot in the Parliament, and ſtirr'd up the People of *Paris*, loudly to demand the Concluſion of the Peace. They alſo engag'd the Deputies General of the Reformed Churches to ſay, *That if the Regent gave*

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the Command of the Army to the Known Enemies of their Religion, they would look upon it as a Lawful Reaſon for them to provide for their preſervation, in joining with the Prince of Conde. The Marſhal *Leſdiguieres*, gave out, *That the War would be look'd upon as a reviving of the Old Quarrel between the* Guiſes *and* Bourbons. In this diverſity of Opinions, the Queen thought the beſt way to ſcreen her ſelf from further Reflections, was, to call an Extraordinary Council, where the Preſidents of the Parliament, and the Principal Magiſtrates of *Paris* aſſiſted. Now all theſe Gown-men, being led by the Chancellor, were downright for a Peace. 1614.

Cardinal *Joieuſe* ſeeing that their Opinion would prevail, went out of the Meeting. *Guiſe*, *Epernon*, *Villeroy*, and ſome others who had Voted for the War, were afraid of drawing miſchief upon themſelves, by withſtanding the Current. Upon which account they approv'd the Continuation of the Treaty at *Soiſſons*. *Vignier* was ſent by the Regent after the Prince of *Conde*, who had retir'd to *S. Menehoud*. This New Agent had Orders to ſolicit his Highneſs to give Leave, that the Duke of *Mayenne* and Marſhal *Bouillon* ſhould finiſh the Treaty with the King's Commiſſioners, notwithſtanding the Abſence of the Prince and ſome Lords. *Conde* anſwer'd by *Vignier*, *That Matters would be more eaſily adjuſted if the Duke of* Ventadour *and his Collegues, would advance to* Rhetel, *in order to treat with him.* Whereupon her Majeſty diſpatched Expreſs Orders for her Commiſſioners to go thither, and conclude the Negotiation they had begun. The Regent ſent likewiſe a particular Letter to the Prince, in which ſhe promis'd a Suſpenſion of the double Marriage till her Son were of Age.

1614.

The Nuncio's thoughts of a Peace with Conde

The Pope's Nuncio was ſtunn'd with the Regent's Reſolution, to make an Accommodation with the Prince of *Conde*, upon ſuch Terms as were prejudicial to the Royal Authority. He was afraid this Treaty would make the Firſt Prince of the Blood too powerful, and furniſh him with the means of carrying his Deſigns further. *Conde*, ſaid the Pope's Miniſter, *has a mind to break the Double Marriage. And how does he think to compaſs his End? Hereafter he'll ſupport the Proteſtant Party; he'll favour the Parliament's Uſurpations upon the ſmall Remains of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; he'll make a Party of his own Creatures in the* Sorbonne, *by encouraging the Faction of* Richer, *who wants only to ſink the Authority of the Holy See in* France. *And if once the Pope be brought to that paſs, that he cannot diſpenſe with Canons, as he thinks fit, what will become of the Divorce between the late King and* Margaret, *his firſt Wife? Then the Prince of* Conde *has but one ſtep to mount the Throne.*

The *Italian* Politicians oftentimes carry their Arguments out of ſight. The Author, who relates the Nuncio's Speculations upon this Head, adds, *That this Miniſter's Fears had been well grounded in any other Country but* France. *The Genius of that Nation*, ſays he, *is ſo changeable; their Meaſures are ſo different, and contrary one to another, that no Man can form certain Conjectures upon the Commotions that happen in* France. The Reflection is not amiſs; 'tis certainly ſo. But that Author ſhould have added ſtill, That *Conde* had ſuch a weak Head, and was ſo little capable of any great Reſolution, that he could never have done the Regent much harm, ſuppoſing ſhe had granted him much more favourable Terms.

Siri Mem. Rec. tom. 3. p. 241.

A Noble *Venetian*, ſpeaking upon this head in the Hiſtory of his own Republick, ſays that *France* put it ſelf in the way of *Rewarding thoſe Actions which were otherwiſe puniſh'd by the hand of the hangman.* I do not approve no more than he, what has been often practis'd in *France.* When the Princeſs and great Lords made Leagues under the Pretence of the Publick Good, they minded their Private Intereſt, more than that of the People. But why do's that Lord ſo boldly advance, that the Interpriſe of *Conde* and the other Lords ought to have coſt 'em their Heads? Indeed in a Country where Tyrranical Government prevails it may be ſo. But it would be ſtrange to hear a Republican ſpeak ſo, did not we know that the Government of *Venice* is rather an Abſolute Uſurpation of a few Lords, than a free Adminiſtration of Affairs in a Regular Senat. Their Perpetual *Decemvirat* is as proper a Project for keeping up *Tyranny*, as any that ever was. Accordingly it makes both the People and the Nobles equally to tremble. *Macchiavel's Maxims* are as much ſtudy'd and follow'd in *Venice*, as in any other Principality of *Italy*. *Conde's* interpriſe was neither prudent, nor ſincere; but wherein was it Criminal?

1614. *An Examination of a Venetian Author's Reflections on the Treaty with Conde*

Nani Hiſt. Ven. l. 10. 1614.

One muſt be well tainted with *Macchiavel's* Tyrannical Principles, to maintain that the firſt Prince of the Blood, and the firſt Rate Lords in a State, who demand the Reſtoration of Good Laws, a Convocation of the States General of the Kingdom, the Superſeding of a Marriage concluded upon in the King's Minority, againſt the true Intereſts of the Crown; to maintain, I ſay, that thoſe who only make uſe of the right they're entitled to by birth and dignity, and provide for the ſafety of their Perſons againſt the Regent and Suſpected Miniſters, deſerve to be brought upon the Scaffold. The Prince of *Conde*

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1614. is not to be blam'd for what he did in uniting with the Lords in order to compaſs the ends mention'd in his *Manifeſto*, but he was not fit to do any good. His deſigns were neither fair, nor diſſintereſs'd. The Preſidents of the Parliament and the firſt Magiſtrats of *Paris* did wiſely in adviſing Peace. A Civil War might have prov'd fatal to *France*; And by making Peace they were ſure of a ſpeedy Convocation of the States General; Wherein thoſe who mean'd well, had done their utmoſt in Reforming the Government, had they been better back'd, and had not the Prince of *Conde* been wanting both in Judgment and Honeſty.

The Treaty between the Regent and Prince of Conde concluded at S. Menehoude.

At laſt the Treaty between the Regent and Prince was concluded at S. *Menehoude* in *Champagne* on the 15 of *May*. The Duke of *Ventadour* and his Collegues went thither to meet the Prince. 'Tis needleſs to recount all the Articles. The Caſtle of *Amboiſe* was to be put into the hands of the Prince till the meeting of the States General. Some Authors ſay the Duke of *Nevers* had S. *Menehoude*, tho 'tis not mention'd in the Treaty. Beſides he had a Summ of Money to Indemnify him of the loſs he ſuſtain'd by the pulling down of his Houſe, in making the Fortifications at *Mezieres*, which were to be partly demoliſh'd: *Blavet* and the other places in *Brittany* lately fortified by the Duke of *Vendome* were diſmantled. *Ceſar* was reſtor'd to his Government and all his other places. This was all that *Vendome* got; upon which account he cry'd out that the Prince of *Conde* abandon'd him in this Negotiation. As for *Bouillon* he was eaſily pleas'd. The Regent gave him a Conſiderable Summ of Money, which to him was an Equivalent for any thing elſe. The Duke of *Rohan* had an honeſter heart than all the others that made ſo great a noiſe. We ſee, ſays he, that Private Intereſt makes them all forget

French *Mercury* 1614.

Mem. of the Duke of Rohan and of this Regency.

forget the general good of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Conde*, The Dukes of *Nevers*, *Longuevill*, *Mayenne*; and the Marshal *Bouillon*, sign'd the Treaty, and speedily perform'd the Conditions on their part. And *Mary de Medicis* was not less punctual for her part. 161.

The Dukes of *Longueville* and *Mayenne* were the first that return'd to Court. *Conde* retir'd to *Valeri* House, where *Descures* the Governour of *Amboise* went, and return'd the post into his hands. Some time after his Highness came to wait upon their Majesties. But his Natural Uneasyness did not suffer him to stay long at Court. He found that his last Foolish Interprise, eclypsed the Respect due to his quality, instead of inlarging it as he expected. This anger'd him so, that he had some thoughts of making some disturbance in the Convocation of the States, but his Measures upon that head were as ill concerted as the former. So he was oblig'd to leave the Regent to manage her concerns, who was then upon reducing the Duke of *Vendome* that refus'd to stand to the Treaty at *Menehoude*.

A Decree of the Parliament of Paris against a Book writ by Suarez a Jesuit, French Mer. 161

The Jesuits having lain long dormant, came now upon the stage again, upon the occasion of a book writ by *Suarez*, a Famous *Jesuit* in *Spain*. 'Twas entitled, *A defence of the Catholick and Apostolick Faith, in opposition to the Errors of the sect in England.* There was always at *Paris* some some who kept a Watchful Eye upon the Conduct of the Good Fathers, and thought themselves oblig'd to pardon them in nothing. *Suarez* his new book being come out in *France*, Some Abstracts were quickly made from it, and carried to the King's Officers in the Parliament of *Paris*. The Attorney General thought it so dangerous a book, that he design'd to have it condemn'd. The houses being assembled on the

1614. the 26 of *June* condemn'd the book to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, as containing Seditious Maxims tending to Subvert the State, and put the Subjects of Princes and Kings upon attacking their Sacred Persons. 'Twas ordered besides that some former decrees of the faculty of *Paris* condemning the Doctrine of *Suarez*, should be read every year on the 4 of *June*, not only in the Schools of the *Sorbonne*, but likewise in those of the Colledge of *Clermont*, and of the Mendicants Colledge.

The Society was most of all mortified, at the Parliament's giving orders, that Father *Armond* the Rector, *Coton* the last King's confessor, together with *Fronton le Duc*, and *Sirmond*, both of 'em Men of Extraordinary Endowments, should be brought before the Parliament next day. When they appear'd, the first President told 'em, as from the Court, that the Book writ by *Suarez* their Brother was contrary to the Declaration they had made, and to the decree given by their General in the Year 1610. Then they order'd 'em to write to *Rome*, for the Renewing and Publication of the decree; to take care that the Private Members of their Society did not advance such Damnable and Pernicious Propositions in their Books; And, infine, to Preach to the People a Doctrine contrary to that of *Suarez*. If they fail'd in the performance of these things, the Parliament declar'd they would prosecute the Offenders as guilty of High Treason, and disturbers of the Peace.

Paul V. complains of the Parliament's proceedings against Suarez *his book.*

The Court of *France* foresaw that the proceedings of the Parliament of *Paris* against

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Suarez's Book, would made a great noiſe at the 1614.
the Court of *Rome*: for indeed the Book was writ by the Pope's orders. But the Regent conſidering that the Parliament had done her good ſervice in the affair of the Prince of *Conde*, had no mind to withſtand their Zeal againſt ſuch pernicious Sentiments. Her Majeſty had more need than ever to keep fair with the Parliament, by reaſon of the approaching Convocation of the States General of the Kingdom. As ſoon as *Paul* had notice of the Parliament's decree againſt the Book, he ſent the Biſhop of *Folini* to the Marquis of *Trenel*, who ſucceeded to Breves as Ambaſſador, at *Rome*; The prelate was order'd to complain in the Pop's Name of the interpriſe of the *French* Magiſtrates, and their encroaching upon the rights of the Holy See. *His Holineſs*, ſaid he to the Ambaſſador, *is ſo much the more ſurpris'd at this procedure, that he expected ſome Mark of gratitude from the Queen of* France. *She is not ignorant what affection the Pope has always ſhewn for her and her ſon. All the World can witneſs the Pope's Zeal for the good of* France. *'Tis not long ſince he offer'd his good Offices to the Queen, in appeaſing the Commotions of the Kingdom. And now they are ſcarce at an end, when the Parliament of* Paris *gives out a decree Injurious to the Holy See. If* Suarez's *Book contain propoſitions contrary to the Soveraignty of the moſt Chriſtian King, her Majeſty might have complain'd to the Pope. He would have cenſur'd the Aurthor's Doctrine; he would have ſeverly Puniſh'd him; and raz'd out whatever was amiſs in the book. Since the Death of* Henry IV. *ſeveral* French *writers have Publiſh'd Satyrical Libels againſt the Holy See, and the Pope's Perſon. They have endeavour'd to ſink his Authority, at a time, when he imploy'd all his Intereſt on the behalf of the King and the Kingdom of* France.

Siri Mem. Rec. tom. 3. p. 256.

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1614.

The Biſhop of *Folini* charg'd the Ambaſſadors to acquaint the Queen, *That his Holineſs complain'd of the violent proceedings of the Parliament, and pray'd her Majeſty to get their Decree Diſanull'd.*

An Interview between the Pope and French Ambaſſador.

The Marquis of *Trenel* went ſome time after to have Audience of the Pope; and repreſented to his Holineſs the impoſſibility of anſwering his demands from the Regent, who in the preſent juncture of affairs would not fall out with the Parliament of *Paris*. *Her Majeſty*, ſaid the Ambaſſador to his Holineſs, *will always preſerve the Memory of the good Offices ye have done her? but ſhe'll be troubled to hear that your Holineſs would protect a Book; the Author whereof is ſo far from diſpoſing the People for the obedience due to their Soveraigns, according to the Duty of his profeſſion; that he vents Maxims capable to occaſion the Inſurrection of the People, and their attacking the Lives of their Sovereigns.* France *do's yet lament the Bloody Death of* Henery IV. *His Parliaments will never fail to make Head againſt the Authors of that pernicious Doctrine, that run the Knife into the Breaſt of ſo good a King. The Magiſtrates will not fail to ſee to the preſervation of his Son; but without departing from the reſpect due to your Holineſs and the Apoſtolick See. With this view the Parliament of* Paris *has taken all poſſible care, that their decree ſhould not encroach upon the Lawful Authority of St.* Peter's *ſucceſſors.*

Theſe Remonſtrances did not prevail with an arrogant and bigotted Pope. *If the King of* France, replyed *he, will not reverſe the*

the Parliament's decree, ſo far as it con- 1614.
cerns the rights of the Holy See; I'll follow the Light and motions of my Conſcience. 'Tis not to be imagin'd that the fear of a rupture is capable to ſtop me upon this occaſion. In caſe her Majeſty deny the ſatisfaction I now demand, I'll take care to do my ſelf juſtice, and to follow the example of my predeceſſors. What! do I keep a Nuncio at Paris, *to be a ſpectator of the Outrages againſt me, and the contempt with which they trample under Foot the Authority of the Holy See? Was it ſuch a difficult matter to have put a ſtop to the Parliament's proceeding? I know the Cardinal very well; he reliſhes his Political Maxims more than the Truths of Religion.*

The Ambaſſador was not at all mov'd. He intreated his Holineſs to reflect upon the reaſon which the Parliament of *Paris* had for condemning that book. *I have always heard,* ſaid he, like an honeſt Gentleman, *that Divinity is a holy Science; and therefore it muſt be incompatible with an Opinion that allows the Aſſaſſination of Kings. The Parliament is Eſſentially oblig'd to keep up the true Divinity in the Kingdom, and to preſerve the Authority and Perſon of the King. Now a Book is laid before them, which maintains, That in ſome Caſes a private perſon may attack the Life of his Soveraign with a ſafe Conſcience. Should the Magiſtrates be ſilent, after the Murder of Two Kings ſucceſſively, committed by Fanaticks, tainted with that Damnable Divinity?* *Paul* replied, that he did not inſiſt on that Opinion, which authoriſes the Killing of declar'd Tyrants. *I my ſelf,* ſaid he, *have prohibited the teaching of that Doctrine; and I doubt I have condeſcended too far in ſo doing. Several approv'd Writers of the Church believe it.*

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1614 *However, I now complain of the condemnation of ſome paſſages cited in the Decree, which mention only the Authority of the Holy See.*

And what Paſſages were theſe? Why, Thoſe in which *Suarez* advances, that the Pope may depoſe Soverigns, when they become Tyrants.

The Pope's proteſtation upon this occaſion merits our remarks. He pretended he had oblig'd Kings in prohibiting the teaching of that Doctrine, that on ſome occaſions Kings may be kill'd with a ſafe conſcience; and with a Moderation every way ſuitable to the ſucceſſor of S. *Peter*, he only reſerved to himſelf the right of depoſing them, when he thought their Government degenerated into *Tyranny*. *Trenel* very pertinently replyed to the Holy Father, that Soveraigns were not ſo much oblig'd to him, and that it was the intreeſt of the Pope himſelf to have ſuch Doctrines' baniſh'd out of all Chriſtian Societes. *For in Effect*, ſaid he, *the Proteſtants* mantain that the Popes are *Heretick*s, Tyrants, and Antichriſts. Now if the Doctrine which Authoriſes the Murdering of Tyrants, be once Eſtabliſh'd among Chriſtians, 'tis not impoſſible but ſome fanatical Proteſtant may think to act a Meritorious part in killing his Holineſs.

Paul V. inſtead of relenting, grew hotter. He told with a menacing and angry Countenance, That if the King would not reverſe the Act, nothing ſhould hinder him to aſſert and maintain the Rights of the Holy See. The Ambaſſador anſwer'd in a more ſubmiſſive Manner. " May " your Holineſs be ſo kind as to mention ſome " Expedient that may give you Satisfaction. " May ye be pleas'd to write to your Nuncio, " and give Orders to the Cardinals in *France* " to conſult with him, what are the moſt pro- " per Meaſures for an Accomodation. All that " can be done Honourably in that Affair will " be accepted by the Queen. As for a legal " Diſanulling of the Act, in the preſent Junct- " ure, 'tis altogether impoſſible. *Trenel* mean'd only to drill on the Affair to a Negotiation, that the haughty fiery old Man might have time to relent, and reflect upon the Conſequences of his Menaces. After ſome Diſcourſe, he reſolv'd at laſt to write to the Nuncio, and to ſend Briefs to the Cardinals *Joieuſe*, *Perron*, and *Rochefoucault*, enjoyning them to confer with the Nuncio about the Satisfaction due to his Holineſs in the preſent Juncture of Affairs. While I recount this Story; there are two things that do equally ſurprize me; the Arrogance of the pretended Vicar of Chriſt, who will not ſuffer Crown'd Heads to make uſe of their Juriſdiction in maintaining their Sovereign and Independent Power, and ſecuring their Lives from Aſſaſſins. They muſt humbly beg Leave of the Pope to condemn a Jeſuit that attacks their Lives; they muſt ſuffer it to be publiſh'd within their Dominions, That the Pope has a Right to inſpect their Conduct, and to depoſe them, if he thinks they uſe their Power Tyrannically. The other thing that ſtuns me as much, is the low and mean Superſtition of Popiſh Sovereigns. What Reaſon can they alledge to oblige 'em to a blind Submiſſion to the Pride and Haughti-

1614.

1614. neſs of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who groſly abuſes a Religion, the Principles whereof reduce him to the ſimple Quality of a Preacher of the Goſpel, and an Overſeer of a particular Church.

The Conduct of the Court of France *in ſatisfying the Pope.*

The Regent of *France* and her Miniſters were glad that the Marquis of *Trenel* had engag'd the Pope to a Negotiation, in order to receive Satisfaction for the Decree he complain'd ſo bitterly of. Not that the Court of *France* were afraid of the honeſt Man's Threats. His Difference with the Republick of *Venice* had taught the World, that tho' his Anger might put him upon violent Reſolutions, yet he'll quickly relent, and become more tractable, when Reſiſtance is offer'd to the Purpoſe. 'Twas not to be believ'd that a Man of his Age and Experience in Affairs would be guilty of the Folly to fall out with *France*. Such Meaſures would have been more prejudicial to his Holineſs and his Religion; than to thoſe whom he offer'd to ſtrike at with his thundring Anathema's. That had been the way to give the Proteſtants ground to triumph. They would have been ſure to inſult over the Arrogance of *Paul* V. upon whom they had already thrown out ſo many witty and biting Railleries. By ſuch Means he had expos'd himſelf to the Indignation of all wiſe and judicious Catholicks, who would certainly cenſure ſuch Conduct, as being contrary both to Senſe and the true Intereſts of their Communion. Upon theſe Accounts the Court of *France* reſolv'd not to meddle with the Parliament's Decree. They had good Reaſons for diſgracing *Suarez* his Book, and the preſent Juncture did not allow 'em to diſoblige the firſt Magiſtrates of the Kingdom. They made it their Buſineſs only to find Means for ſatisfying the Pope with a Salvo to the King's Honor. When *Ubaldini* preſented the Brief that *Paul* V.

Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 3. p. 269.

wrote

wrote with his own Hand to the Queen, ſhe gave a very obliging Anſwer, and inſinuated, that ſhe would be very glad, that the Nuncio, together with the *French* Cardinals, would concert an Expedient to ſatisfie his Holineſs. 1614.

The Jeſuits at Rome *make a ſtir to get the Decree of Parliament of* Paris *burnt.*

The Jeſuits at *Rome* were yet hotter than the Pope and his Miniſters againſt the Parliaments Decree. If we'll believe their firſt Founder, that Society ought to do all to the Glory of God. But it ſeems he has ſecretly ſuggeſted to his Diſciples, that the Honor of the Society ought to be dearer to them, than the Glory of God and the Good of the Church. Such has their Spirit been ever ſince they began to make a Figure in the World. The good Fathers do not trouble themſelves about the Imputation of raiſing Scandal or Diviſions in the Church, when the buſineſs is to ſave or inlarge the falſe Honor of the Society. This they plainly diſcover'd in the matter now before us. Had *Paul* V. follow'd the firſt Motions of his Paſſion, he might have loſt *France* as *Clement* VIII. did *England*. And had the Jeſuits got their Will, the Pope had certainly expos'd himſelf to that Inconvenience. At *Rome* they made all the ſtir imaginable to perſwade his Holyneſs to vindicate the Honor of *Suarez*, by condemning the Act of the Parliament of *Paris* as Heretical, to be burnt by the Hand of the Hangman. To put a ſtop to his Impetuous Zeal, *Trenel* was oblig'd to acquaint them that they were going to run the riſque of being expell'd the Kingdom of *France*, once more. The Court of *France* likewiſe enjoyn'd the chief Jeſuits at *Paris* to write earneſtly to *Rome*, and declare to their furious Brethren, that if the Pope took ſuch violent Reſolutions, his Majeſty imputed it to the Suggeſtions of the Society, and would find a way of puniſhing 'em to ſome purpoſe.

The King's Declaration in Council concerning the Decree.

The young King came of Age the latter end of *September*. His firſt buſineſs was, to give Satisfaction to the Pope. He order'd the Par-

1614. liaments Decree to be reported in full Council; and then gave Orders for drawing up an Act, in which, after the Expreſſions of his Zeal for the Apoſtolick See, and his Deſire to ſatisfie the Pope, *Lewis* XIII. declar'd, that the execution of the Parliament's Decree could not injure the lawful Authority of the Pope, or the Priviledges of the Holy See, own'd and reſpected by his Anceſtors. When the Declaration was read to *Ubaldini*, he ſtickled at this, that it ſuppos'd the temporal Power of Kings to be abſolutely Soveraign and independent. It diſpleas'd the *Italian* Miniſter, that it ſhould reject the Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, which alledges, That Crown'd Heads are at leaſt ſubject to the Authority of the Pope in ſome Caſes. But they did not trouble themſelves for the Nuncio's long harangues.

The Pope will not accept the K.'s Declaration for Satisfaction.

His Maſter was equally diſatisfied with the King's Declaration. *Paul* V. told plainly, that it did not attone for the Diſgraceing of the Propoſitions of *Suarez*, which related to the Authority that Jeſus Chriſt gave to *Peter* and his Succeſſors. " That Author, ſaid his Holineſs, like a Divine admirably well vers'd in the Holy Scriptures and Church Antiquity; " That Author, " ſaid *Paul* V. did rightfully maintain, that I " have received Power to excommunicat Hereti- " cal Sovereigns, and even to depoſe, when " they continue obſtinat in bad Opinions, and " indeavor to conſtrain their Subjects to embrace " them. If Jeſus Chriſt had not given this Pow- " er to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors, he had been " wanting in providing for the Preſervation of " his Church. Pray God forbid I ſhould be " guilty of a baſe Prevarication, in abandoning " the Defence of the rights of St. *Peter's* Chair, " to which God has rais'd me. Thus 'tis the Pope's pleaſure to form a Scheme that gratifies their Ambition, according to which, if they have

Siri Mem. Rec. tom. 3. p. 298.

their

their Will, Jeſus Chriſt muſt regulate his Church. Who told them that the Savior of the World had not eſtabliſh'd a good order in the way of Religion, ſuppoſing he had not follow'd their fine Syſteme? Was God oblig'd to call them to his Council? At this rate the former Popes that did not depoſe neither *Conſtantius*, not *Valentius*, nor *Julian* the Apoſtate, were either downright Block-heads, or baſe Prevaricators. Is it credible that they did not know what power Jeſus Chriſt gave 'em for the Good of the Church? And if they knew ſo much, why did not they exerciſe their Authority againſt thoſe Emperors who ſet up Idolatry, and forc'd their Subjects to embrace the moſt pernicious Hereſy that ever was. 1614.

Paul V. buoy'd himſelf up with theſe ridiculous Pretenſions, and would not content himſelf with the King's Declaration. He ſtill demanded, with a lofty and menacing Tone, That the Decree ſhould be legally revers'd. But all that he could obtain, even by his Cunning and Intreaties, was, That the Execution ſhould be only ſuſpended. *Mary de Medicis*, a Woman of a Weak Head, had made her Son conſent to give *Paul* V. that Satisfaction. There was no occaſion of having ſo mean a Complaiſance for a Pope, whoſe Menaces were only vain Braggadocio's. Put the caſe, that the Court had oppos'd him, what durſt he have done? The States General of the Kingdom were then conven'd. They demanded, with an ardent Zeal, that the Doctrine of *Suarez*, and ſuch like Authors, ſhould be declar'd Heretical and Pernicious. Had the Proud *Borgheſe* thought fit to dart out his Thunderbolts on this occaſion, he had been more deſpis'd in *France* than he was before at *Venice*. Bating the Monks and a few Eccleſeaſticks, the whole Kingdom would have riſen up againſt him. But as Caſes ſtand now-a-days, *France*, after making a great

The King ſuperſedes the Execution of the Parliament's Decree.

1614. great Noiſe againſt the haughty Pretenſions of the Court on t'other ſide the *Alps*, has ſhamefully bow'd before them. *Lewis* XIV. at the higheſt Pitch of his Power, has yielded to 'em more ſhamefully than his Father did when he came firſt to be of Age. He publiſh'd Declarations to maintain his Soveraign Authority; the Biſhops ſpoke more boldly than ever they did before; the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of *France* rally'd upon the Pope even in the Vatican. And what was the upſhot of Appeals to Councils, and the other proceedings of the Parliament againſt the Court of *Rome*? Why, they terminate in ſacrificing to the Pope the Honor of the Clergy, who did nothing but by the King's expreſs Command.

Diviſions in the Court of France.

Mary had more weighty Concerns to manage, than that with the Court upon the Account of *Suarez* his Book. The Difference between the Marſhal of *Ancre* and the Miniſters of State continu'd ſtill. In the preceding year, Endeavours had been us'd for an Accomodation. The Marquis *de Ceuvres* was very earneſt to bring it about. He expected that the Marriage of *Conchini*'s Daughter to the Marquis *Villeroi*, Grand-child to the Secretary of State, would inſure the Peace they were ſo much concern'd to negotiat. But whether it was, that *Conchini* being inveſted with one of the firſt-rate Dignities, imagin'd that the Alliance of *Villeroi* was not great enough for a Man that aſpir'd to the Top of all; or that *Dole* the Marſhal's Confident, and *Villeroi*'s Enemy, that charg'd him with a Breach of Promiſe in not procuring a Place he had paſs'd his Word for, did inceſſantly endeavor to render him ſuſpected to *Conchini*; or elſe that there was ſome other ſecret Intrigue that we do not know: Whatever was in it, the Marſhal and *Villeroi* were more at odds than ever. Beſides, Chancellor *Silleri* and the Secretary of State did openly hate one another. The one thought himſelf

himſelf oblig'd to make the other depart the Court. *Silleri* being back'd by *Conchini* had got the Aſcendant. All theſe Diviſions troubled the Regent. Her Miniſters and her Favorite, had, each of 'em, their Friends and their Enemies at Court, and in the Prince of *Conde*'s Party, whom they had a mind to prefer or diſgrace, according as it might be moſt conducive to the eſtabliſhing of their Fortune. 1614.

The Duke of Vendome *rejects the Treaty of* S. Menehoude.

There was yet another thing that diſquieted the Regent. *Cæſar* Duke of *Vendome* continu'd ſtill to raiſe Tumults in his Government of *Brittany*. He was diſoblig'd by the Prince of *Conde*'s neglecting him in the Treaty of *S. Menehoude*; and therefore refus'd to ſtand to what was ſtipulated for him. But *Cæſar* was not able to carry on a War by himſelf. The Principal Cities and the Parliament declar'd for the Court. He was at a ſtand how to make himſelf more redoubted, and oblige the Regent to give him better Terms. At laſt he reſolv'd to try the Duke of *Rohan*.

Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan.

La Roche Gifart a Proteſtant Gentleman of *Britanny*, went to *S. John d'Angeli* upon *Cæſar*'s account, to give the Duke the largeſt Promiſes imaginable on the behalf of the Proteſtants, if he would joyn with the Duke of *Vendome*. *Rohan* anſwer'd, that he was very ſorry the Intereſts of *Cæſar* had been ſo miſmanag'd at *S. Menehoude*, but his Advice was, that in the preſent Juncture *Cæſar* ſhould conceal his Uneaſineſs, and make up with the Regent as ſoon as poſſible. " He is not in a Condition " to reſiſt, added *Rohan*. What will he do if " the Court offers to reduce him by Force? " He'll be loſt irrecoverably.

The Sagacity and Prudence of du Pleſſis Mornai.

The Duke of *Rohan* alone was not able to raiſe the Proteſtant Party, as *Vendome* imagin'd. He had endeavour'd to have a General Convocation of the Proteſtants at *Tonneins* in *Gaſcogny*, where

1614. where a National Synod was to ſit at the ſame time. I cannot tell, but that the Duke had ſome Deſign there on the behalf of the Prince of *Conde* and the diſcontented Lords: But *Du Pleſſis Mornai* had no mind that the Reformed Churches ſhould embarque in a Civil War that was but ill concerted, and dexterouſly put 'em off of it. The Convocation of the Proteſtants in *Low Guienne*, which met upon the Solicitation of the Duke of *Roban*, was judg'd illegal; and the National Synod, directed by the wiſe and pious *Du Pleſſis*, refus'd to meddle with any Political Affair. The King of *England*, who was always ready to enter the Liſts in Theological Diſputes, and to neglect the principal Devoirs of his Crown; wrote to this Aſſembly upon the Occaſion of a Difference between *Moulin* and *Tilenus*, both of 'em Profeſſors at *Sedan*, concerning the Effects of the Hypoſtatical Union. The Synod thought it proper to make an End of a Diſpute between two Divines, that differ'd only becauſe they did not underſtand one another. They intreated *Du Pleſſis Mornai* to reconcile them. He accepted the Commiſſion, and luckily compaſs'd the propos'd End. I doubt if either Ancient or Modern Hiſtories can furniſh us with a Parallel to this Gentleman. A Man equally well vers'd in Sciences, and in the Affairs of the World. He defended his Religion, he diſcuſs'd the moſt intricate Queſtions in Divinity, by his Prudence he kept up the Reformed Churches, he negotiated the moſt difficult Buſineſs, he gave good Counſel to the Miniſters of State, to the Princes, and even to the Kings themſelves, who liſten'd to him with Pleaſure.

The Regent ſends the Marquis de Ceuvres *to bring the Duke of* Vendome *to an Accomodation.*

The Regent was reſolv'd to avoid a War as much as poſſible; and with that View diſpatch'd for *Britanny* the Marquis of *Ceuvres*, who was juſt return'd from his Embaſſy into *Italy*, in order to reduce the Duke of *Vendome*. *Ceuvres* would

would gladly have avoided that Journey; but he must needs obey. He apprehended that his Enemies, to expose him to some Mischief, had procur'd him this invidious Commission between the Queen and Duke, whose near Kinsman he was by the Famous *Gabriel d'Etrees*. The Marquis at first could obtain nothing but Complaints from the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Retz*, who thought that the Treaty of St. *Menehoud* was very much to their Disadvantage. The Queen order'd him to go back again; and tell the Duke of *Vendome*, that her Majesty would not demolish the new Fortifications of *Blavet*, provided a Garrison of *Switzers* were put into the Place, instead of that which was now in it. *Vendome* agreed to that Condition, and some others that were offer'd him. The King and Queen Mother advance towards *Orleans*, designing to pass the *Loire*, and go to *Poitou* and *Britany*. The Marquis of *Ceuvres* goes the third time to *Britany*, and puts a *Swiss* Garrison into *Blavet*: And the Duke of *Vendome* having laid down his Arms, was re-install'd in his Government by a Patent from his Majesty drawn up at *Orleans* the 14th of *July*.

1614.

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary *of* Medici.

French Mercury, 1614.

The Prince of *Conde* being come to take Possession of his new Government of *Amboise*, understood, when upon the place, that the Court had granted him no very great matters; he is seiz'd with Discontentment; seeks for new Opportunities of raising Troubles, and designs to make himself formidable to the Queen. With these Thoughts he goes to find *Du Plessis* at *Saumur*, and made an Appointment with the Duke of *Rohan* at *Rochelle* in *Anjou*. He believ'd, if he could gain these two Men to his Interests, who had most Credit with the Reformed Churches in *France*, the whole Huguenot Party would declare for him on the first occasion. The Prince pretends to have a great Confidence in *Du Plessis*; and endeavours to excuse

The new uneasiness of the Prince of Conde.

Life of Du Plessis. *Bo.* 3.

1614. excuſe to him his Retreat from Court, and his Attempt againſt the Queen: He declares his pretended Deſigns in deſiring a Convocation of the States General of the Kingdom; ſets forth the Advantages that might be gain'd therefrom by the Reformation of Abuſes; and prays *Du Pleſſis* to give him his beſt Advice, and to ſpeak to him with Freedom.

That experienc'd Gentleman knew very well what *Conde* was able to do: And only exhorts him in general Terms to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, and to take ſuch Courſes as might be moſt for the Good of the State, which was not now in a Condition to endure violent Remedies; to act in concert with the Queen, leaſt their ill Agreement ſhould marr the Succeſs of the enſuing Aſſembly of the States, and, in fine, to hearken to the Counſels of the moſt wiſe and underſtanding Perſons, touching the Diſorders that the preſent poſture of things would ſuffer to be amended. The Prince perceiving that *Du Pleſſis* could not eaſily be gain'd, pretends to be well pleas'd with his Advice: And prays him to draw up a Note of what he judg'd moſt proper to be done in the Aſſembly of the States. In the Interim his Highneſs, who came not in queſt of Admonitions ſo prudent and ſo contrary to his Inclinations, departed ſuddenly for *Rochel*, where *Rohan* and *Soubize* expected him.

An Interview between the P. of Conde *and D. of* Rohan.

Memoirs of the D. of Rohan.

The Prince made mighty complaints to them of Marſhal *Bouillon*. " 'Tis he, ſaid *Conde*, that has " withdrawn the chief Men of my Party; deſigning " to turn every thing to his own Advantage. If " others had ſhewed ſuch Good Will as the Duke of " *Nevers*, I had not been compell'd to ſo ſudden an " Agreement with the Court. I very well know " that you have ſome Reaſon to complain, that I " ſeem to deſire to engage you, after my Agree- " ment is almoſt already concluded: It was not my " Deſign to do it ſo ſoon. But could I help it?

The

" The Marſhal *Bouillon* deceiv'd me. But, thanks 1614.
" to God, there is yet ſome Remedy left. My Par-
" ty will be powerful and numerous in the Aſſem-
" bly of the States General. The Grandees of the
" Kingdom, united with my ſelf, are able to con-
" ſtrain the Queen to change her Conduct. It will
" be eaſie to limit her Authority, and to make con-
" ſiderable Alterations in the Government. If the
" Queen obſtinatly reject our Demands, we ſhall
" have a very plauſible pretence to take up Arms.
" Male-contents are never wanting in *France*; there
" are a conſiderable Number of Gentlemen and
" Soldiers ready to declare themſelves.

Tho' the Duke of *Rohan* was of other Principles than *Du Pleſſis*, and his Diſpleaſure with the Court ſeem'd to render him capable of a deſperate Reſolution, yet he had the Prudence to keep himſelf free of the Prince of *Conde*. He only thinks fit to remonſtrate to his Highneſs, that he ought not to lay ſuch ſtreſs on the States General. " The Queen will there
" have more Credit than you, added he; thoſe on
" whom you now depend, will deſert you. Fear
" and Hope are the two great Springs that move
" the Members of Aſſemblies: You are not in a
" Condition to promiſe great Advantages, nor to
" fright them with Threats. The Queen has Im-
" ployments and Offices to diſtribute. She can pu-
" niſh them who oppoſe her Will. Who would then
" openly declare for you againſt her Majeſty? Aſ-
" ſure your ſelf, Sir, that the States General will be
" wholly againſt you. *Conde*, finding that this Conference would not promote his new project, begins to fear that his Diſcourſes with the Duke of *Rohan* would give umbrage to the Queen. Wherefore he immediately writes to Preſident *Jeannin*, that he had ſpoken with the Duke of *Rohan*, only to hinder him to join with the Duke of *Vendome*. What Baſeneſs, what Diſgraceful Shifts in Men ſo eminent for their Birth! Should *Conde*, to juſtify himſelf at the Court, have made the Duke of

Rohan

1614. *Rohan* ſuſpected of Intelligence with *Vendome*? The Prince knew that *Rohan* had advis'd *Vendome* to accept the Treaty of St. *Menehoud*; he having told it to the Prince, who appear'd very well pleas'd that he had given ſuch Counſel to a young Man who ſought to ruine himſelf.

The Prince of Conde *deſigns to make himſelf Maſter of* Poitou.

The Prince of *Conde* had yet another Deſign in his Head, thinking to render himſelf Maſter of *Poitiers*. He had Correſpondence with the Duke of *Reannez*, Governor of the Town, and the Marquis of *Bonnivet* was to aſſemble the Gentry to maintain the deſign'd Enterprize. The time of the Election of the Mayor drew near, and there were ſeveral Parties form'd in the City. *Roannez*, and the other Friends of *Conde*, form'd a Party for themſelves, in order to put into that important Place a Man who ſhould be at their Devotion. *Chataigner*, the Biſhop of *Poitou*, advertis'd the Queen of ſeveral Intrigues that were a forming, and gave her Majeſty great Suſpicions of ſome ſecret Deſigns of the Prince of *Conde*; which the Court took very well at the Biſhop's Hand. He is order'd to keep a watchful Eye upon what was a hatching, and as much as poſſible to defeat the Contrivances of the Governor, and the Friends of the Prince of *Conde*. *Chataigner*, who knew other things beſides his Breviary, gains the greateſt part of the Inhabitants, every where doubles the Guards, and makes himſelf more powerful in the City than the Duke of *Roannez*. This Care of his fruſtrated the Party of the Prince of *Conde*, who expected impatiently at *Angers* the News of the Succeſs of his Intrigue at *Poitiers*. To encourage his Friends not to give over the Attempt, he ſent to them a Gentleman nam'd *Latrie*. But Great Men oftentimes ruine their Deſigns, by their Deſire to carry them on with too much Pride. The Prince vex'd at the Biſhop, who not being contented openly to thwart him, had alſo

ſpoken

ſpoken to his Diſadvantage, wrote to him a reproachful and bitter Letter, which *Latrie* was to deliver. The Prelate, being confirm'd in the Thought, that the Prince conceal'd ſome great Deſign on the City, reſolves forcibly to revenge himſelf on *Conde*, and to hinder him to execute his Enterprize, coſt what it will. 1614.

A great Tumult at Poitiers. *French Mercury* 1614.

The Biſhop having advis'd with ſome of his Relations and Friends, they judge it expedient to rid themſelves of the Prince's Meſſenger. Wherefore ſome are ſuborn'd, who aſſault *Latrie*, and give him ſeveral Wounds with Shot of Carbines. The Biſhop caus'd to be proclaim'd in the City, That there was a Deſign to deliver it into the Hands of the King's Enemies. The People riſe in Arms, the Gates are ſhut, the Streets are chained, and in ſeveral places barricado'd. The Biſhop comes forth armed: With his Pike in hand, he exhorts the Inhabitants to ſtand to their Guard. The Duke of *Roannez*, Governour of *Poitiers*, runs immediately from his Houſe, which was not far from the City. He commands the Barricado's to be remov'd, and advances towards the Biſhop, to learn from him the Cauſe of that unuſual Tumult. But the Mob, being yet more enrag'd by the Report that the Prince of *Conde* was arriv'd near the City, fall on the Governour, and wound him ſlightly in the Face. The Biſhop, who had rais'd the Tumult, pretends to take *Roannez* into his Houſe, and to ſhelter him from the Fury of the Rabble; ſecuring thus the Perſon of the Duke: And, by vertue of a Commiſſion from the Queen, *Chataigner* gives all neceſſary Orders for the Security of the City. How pretty was it to ſee a Biſhop become Soldier and Captain! With his Sword at his Side he went the Round every Night about the City, encourag'd the Militia, and diſtributed among 'em Mony, out of his own Treaſure. The contrary Faction fail'd not to reproach him bloodily; but the good Prelat did not much mind them. However he caus'd to

be

1614. be publiſh'd an Apology, ſhewing, that in caſe of neceſſity Eccleſiaſticks may take Arms. The Duke of *Roannez* was very glad to have the liberty to return to his own Houſe. Some Magiſtrats, and the Principal Inhabitants of the Prince of *Conde*'s and the Governour's Faction, depart out of the City. *Latrie* alſo, whoſe Wounds were not mortal, eſcap'd in like manner, and met the Prince, who came in great haſte to *Poitiers*, and reſolv'd to defend thoſe of his Party; but the good Prince had taken a wrong Courſe.

The Gates of the City are ſhut upon the Prince.

So ſoon as *Du Pleſſis*, by an Expreſs from the Prince, underſtood that he went to *Poitiers*, under Pretence of revenging the Outrage done him in the Perſon of *Latrie*, he ſpeedily diſpatch'd a Gentleman to the Prince to conjure him not to expoſe himſelf unſeaſonably on this Occaſion, and to reſt ſatisfy'd to write to her Majeſty, and demand Juſtice from her. " A " Perſon of your Rank, ſaid *Du Pleſſis* in his " Letter to the Prince, when he expoſes himſelf " to the incenſed Mob, not being in a Condi- " tion to make them ſtand in awe, is in Danger " of receiving Affronts. The Inhabitants of " *Poitiers*, who formerly refus'd to open their " Gates to *Henry* the Third, may very well ſhut " them alſo againſt the firſt Prince of the Blood. " In the Name of God, take no violent Cour- " ſes, call not the neighbouring Gentry to your " Aſſiſtance. The Queen will look on it as " a Conſequence of your Interview with the " Duke of *Rohan*. And that you deſign to ſtir " up new Confuſions. A Prince ſhould never " advance, when he knows he will, againſt his " Inclination, be oblig'd to retreat. The Prince being too unwiſe and paſſionate to uſe this good Advice, continues his March to *Poitiers*, with a very ſmall Retinue: And ſoon perceiv'd that *Du Pleſſis* had pretty well gueſs'd. The Gates of the City are ſhut upon him, the Inhabitants take

Life of Du Pleſſis, *Bo.* 3.

take Arms, and fire on his Attendants. Being enrag'd at this new Affront, he retires to *Chateleraut* with ſome Gentlemen who were come to joyn with him, and diſcharges his Fury on a Country-houſe belonging to the Biſhop of *Poitiers* that he found in his way. From thence he wrote to the Queen to complain of the Inhabitants of *Poitiers*, and to demand Juſtice of her Majeſty, who laugh'd heartily at the Affront he had imprudently drawn upon himſelf. 1614.

The King and Queen mother take a Journey for Poitou *and* Britany

Thoſe new Troubles, the Conſequences whereof might prove dangerous, oblig'd the Queen to reſolve upon a Journey to *Poitou* and *Brittany* with the King her Son; and to make her Troops to march at the ſame time. A Report had been ſpread abroad, that young *Lewis* had ſo Ill Health, that he could not live long. The ſureſt Method to quell that Report, to reduce the Duke of *Vondome*, who was ever making ſome Trouble in *Britany*, and to curb the reſtleſs Prince of *Conde*, was to bring the King well attended into *Poitou* and *Britany*, and ſhow him to the People in thoſe Provinces. In the mean time the Queen ſends *Monpezat* to the Prince of *Conde*, who is put off with fair Words. *Mazarin*, Maſter of Requeſts, is order'd to go to *Poitiers*; and a Commiſſion, true, or pretended, is prepar'd for him, to inform againſt the People with whom they were mightily pleas'd for what they had done againſt the Prince. *Monpezat* preſſes him to retire from *Poitou*. " The Queen, ſaid " they to him, intends to do you Juſtice, and *Ma-* " *zurier* comes for that purpoſe to *Poitiers*. Nevertheleſs the Prince ſtrengthened by the Soldiers which the Marqueſs of *Bonnivet* had brought to him, would not retire untill he had receiv'd Satisfaction.

But

1614.

The Perplexity of the P. of Conde. *He retires at length to* Chateauroux *in* Berry.

Life of Du Pleſſis, *Book* 4.

But he was greatly perplex'd, when he heard that their Majeſties were at *Orleans*, and that the Army was on their March. Being unreſolved what to do, he ſeem'd ſometimes inclin'd to go to the Duke of *Rohan* at St. *John d' Angeli*. But what Aſſiſtance could he expect from the Huguenot Party, who were not at all diſpos'd to riſe up in behalf of a Prince who was inconſtant and imprudent in all his Proceedings? "I ſee not, ſaid *Dn Pleſſis*, of what "Advantage a Journey to St. *John d' Angeli* can "be to the Prince. If he goes with few At-"tendants, he will be deſpis'd; if with a nume-"rous Retinue, he will incommode the Duke of "*Rohan* who entertains him. But can any body "think, that the Inhabitants of St. *John de Angeli*, "will draw upon themſelves all the King's Forces, "for receiving a Prince who is diſaffected to "the Religion which their Fathers defended, and "incapable to do Good to our Churches? *Conde* perceiving that the Duke of *Rohan* could never be ſure of the Huguenot Party, ſo long as *Du Pleſſis* continued to diſſwade them from medling in theſe Commotions, wrote to *Du Pleſſis*, as it were to ask his Advice: But his true Deſign was to make the Reform'd jealous of their Majeſties Progreſs. "This Journey, ſaid he in his Letter, was un-"doubtedly undertaken on one of theſe three "Accounts. Poſſibly they deſign by force, to wreſt "from thoſe of your Religion the Liberties that "were accorded by the late King. Some think "they go to receive the *Infanta*, and to accom-"pliſh his Majeſty's Marriage. As for my ſelf, "I have Reaſon to fear that they are come "to oppreſs me here. I pray you, added "*Conde*, be ſo kind as to tell me what you "think I ought to do in ſuch a Juncture.

Du Pleſſis

Du Pleſſis ſoon perceiv'd that under colour of asking his advice he was ſollicited to declare himſelf: He anſwer'd the Prince, that the King's Voiage did not alarm the Reformed Churches. *We are perſwaded, ſaid he, that the Queen very well knows, that if her Majeſty ſhould now ſuffer thoſe of our Relion to be aſſaulted, ſhe ſhould endanger the ſetting of her Kingdoms in Combuſtion. I know there are ſome who report; that the Queen deſigns to go to receive the Infanta. But ſhould a Prince be determin'd by the talk of the People? Are there Veſſels ready waiting in the Ports which the Spaniards have on the Ocean? Or have any Gallies been rigg'd out from* Barcelona? *The Infanta at preſent can only come by ſea. The Spaniards are extream haughty; and is it probable that they will ever ſend incognito the eldeſt Daughter of their King? She will never ſet out, til the Court at* Madrid *are ſufficiently aſſur'd that ſhe ſhall be receiv'd as Queen ſo ſoon as ſhe ſets foot in* France. *I make no doubt but that his Majeſty will march either into* Britany, *againſt the Duke of* Vendoſm, *who has not yet accepted the Treaty of St.* Menehoud; *or elſe to* Poictiers, *where his preſence ſeems abſolutely neceſſary. Wherefore Your Highneſs cannot do better than to retire with a good grace from about* Poictiers: It concerns your Reputation not to wait till you are conſtrain'd to do it. The Duke of *Maiene* was then at *Chateleraut*, whether he had gone with conſent of the Court: He was inſtant with the Prince to give ready Obedience to his Majeſty: And indeed he had no other courſe to take. From this new Deſign he reap'd nothing but the Confuſion to find himſelf oblig'd to conceal himſelf in his Lands of *Chateleraut* in *Berry*. He durſt not return to his Government of *Amboiſe*: Thoſe who commanded for him in that place of ſecurity, which he had ſo vehemently deſir'd, were ſo little afraid of him, that they preſented the Keys thereof to the Queen, as ſhe paſſed that way a little time after: Her Majeſty ſeem'd to contemn the Vain efforts of the Prince, by leaving to him a Place which ſhe could have taken without reſiſtance. 1614.

1614. *Remonſtrances of* Du Pleſſis *to the Queen.*

The Queen Regent labour'd to diſpel the Jealouſies with which the Prince of *Conde* and his Emiſſaries endeavour'd to poſſeſs the Reform'd Churches about their Majeſties Voiage. So ſoon as the Court was arriv'd at *Orleans*, She diſpatch'd a Gentleman with Credential Letters to *Saumur*: He was to give aſſurance to *Du Pleſſis* that the King's Army would not march into the Provinces that were beyond the River *Loire*; that the Queen deſign'd not to conclude the Double Marriage before the ſitting of the Eſtates General, that She intended only to reduce the Duke of *Vendoſme*, who daily raiſed new difficulties againſt accepting the Treaty of St. *Menehoud*, altho the Marqueſs of *Ceuvres* had already made two Journies into *Britany* to perſwade him to return to his duty. The Court remov'd from *Orleans* to *Tours*; whether the Queen invited *Du Pleſſis* to come to her. It had been reported that the King and the Queen his Mother would not paſs by *Saumur* as they went to *Britany*. *It will never be judged convenient*, ſaid ſome People, *that their Majeſties ſhould come under the power of the moſt Zealous Huguenot in* France. This Diſcourſe vex'd *Du Pleſſis*; and he reſolv'd to complain of it to the Queen: *Madam*, ſaid that Gentleman, whoſe vertue did ſurpaſs that of *Ariſtotle* and *Cato*: *I give no Faith to what is reported; but if it had been propoſed in your Majeſties Council that the King's Perſon would not be ſafe at* Saumur, *I ſhould believe it the greateſt Injury could be done to me. The Government of* Saumur *was given me as a Reward and Teſtimony of the Treaty which I manag'd between the late King and his Predeceſſor. The Negotiation which I happily concluded, did very much conduce to the placing the Diceaſed King on the Throne of his Anceſtors: Heavens forbid that the Place the Government of which he afterwards intruſted me with, ſhould ever be ſuſpected by the King his Son.* This Generoſity was pleaſing to the Queen; and ſeem'd to her a modeſt invitation to go to *Saumur*.

Du

Du Pleſſis had ſeveral private Audiences of the Queen while he was at *Tours*: With him her Majeſty willingly diſcourſed of the preſent State of Affairs in the Kingdom. For his part he took upon him often, to perſwade the Queen to avoid as much as poſſible, a Civil War. *Nothing*, ſaid he, *more weakens the Authority of the Sovereign. I have heard it often times told the late King, that he was never King indeed, till the Civil Wars were inded. Whatſoever may be ſaid to your Majeſty againſt thoſe of our Religion, you may reſt aſſured*, Madam, *that you have no Subjects more faithful than thoſe who obey from a Principle of Conſcience. We have at leaſt this Advantage over our Adverſaries, that we acknowledg no Puiſſance ſuperiour to your Majeſty but God alone. The fundamental Maxims of our Religion allow us not to have any Intercourſe with Strangers who might attempt upon the State, or the Authority of the King. Permit me*, Madam, *further to tell you, that you are made to lay out your Mony in vain to gain ſome perticular Perſons of our Religion: We know theſe Venal Souls; and your Majeſty is deceived by thoſe who inſinuate that they are capable to ſerve you: I will point out to your Majeſty an Infallible way without much Charges to have all the reformed at your Devotion; which is, to order the ſpeedy performance of what has been promiſed us, to do us Juſtice in our Grievances, to interpret ſomthing more favourably the doubtful expreſſions in the Edicts, to grant us certain things, which may ſecure the Quiet of our Churches, and which can't much hurt the Roman Catholicks. That ardent and ſincere Zeal that I have for your Majeſties ſervice, makes me ſpeak againſt my ſelf. Follow this Method which I have preſum'd to propoſe; and when you pleaſe, you may take away our Offices and Penſions. Our Churches being undiſturb'd under your Majeſties Protection, will not concern themſelves for me, or any othor Lord in the Kingdom.* 1614.

This was a generous Advice, worthy of a Gentleman and a true Chriſtian; and might have proved uſeful, if it had met with a Deſign of preſerving Peace in the Kingdom by doing Juſtice, and

1614. granting perhaps ſome ſmall favours, to the Reformed: But their Ruin was deſign'd; and to bring about a Project that had been laid ſo long ago, and followed out for almoſt a whole Age; the Court could take no better courſe than to corrupt ſuch as were of Credit and Authority in the Reform'd Churches. The Ambition and Covetouſneſs of the Huguenot Lords, and of many of the Gentlemen, hath done more hurt to their Religion, than the hatred of the Pope and his Clergy, yea, or the blind and ſuperſtitious Zeal of the Kings and Queens of *France*. If the Dukes and Peers, the Marſhals of *France*, the Lords and Gentlemen of Note had had as much Religion and honeſty as *Du Pleſſis Mornay*; I know not if the Son of him, whoſe Hiſtory I write, had dared to attempt the Deſtruction of the Reform'd Churches in his Kingdom: But the poſterity of a corrupt Nobility, and little affection'd to Religion do now deplore the fatal conſequences of the Cowardice of their Anceſtors.

The King and Queen Mother go to Poictiers.

The Queen received at *Tours* letters from the Duke of *Mayene*; who adviſed her that the Prince of *Conde* was retired to *Chateleraut*, and that at preſent he ſought no reparation of the Injury he complained to have received at *Poictiers*. In this he was wiſe, to appear to Neglect an Offence, for which he could have no ſatisfaction from the Court.

French Mercury. 1614.

The Biſhop was too well lik'd by the Queen: he went boldly to *Tours*, accompanied with Two hundred of the Inhabitants, to ſupplicat their Majeſties to come to *Poictiers*: This day, wherein he ſhew'd himſelf a better Captain than a Biſhop, was in his Eſteem the day of the preſervation of the Liberties of *Poictiers*. Their Majeſties went thither, and were receiv'd with all the Joy and Applauſes imaginable. A Mayor is choſen; and *Mazurier* is order'd to reſide there in quality of a Overſeer of Juſtice. *Rochefort* Lieutenant General for the King in the Province laid down his Charge a little time after; which was given to the Count of *Rochefoucaut* of the *Guiſian* Faction. This was done onpurpoſe

to

to make ſure of *Poictiers*, when it ſhould be time to go and receive the Infanta of *Spain*. 1614.

The Duke of *Rohan*, being inform'd by *Villeroy*, that the Queen was ſupriz'd not to find him at Court when ſhe was ſo near St. *John d' Angeli*, came to wait upon their Majeſties. He is courteouſly received, and particularly by the Queen, who ſought occaſions to draw him near her; he was made to promiſe his attendance at the Eſtates of *Brittany*, that were to ſit at *Nantes* in preſence of their Majeſties, and afterwards he was to go to the Eſtates General. *Memoirs of the Duke of* Rohan.

The Queen Regent, pleaſed to find every thing ſucceed to her wiſhes, takes Journy for *Nantes* by the way of *Angers*; and was willing by paſſing thro' *Saumur* to give a token of her Confidence in *Du Pleſſis*, who went before the King attended by an hundred Gentlemen. *The Queen goes to hold the Eſtates of* Brittany *at* Nantes.

So ſoon as the King came to the Caſtle, *Du Pleſſis* would have made the Gariſon march out; but the King would not ſuffer it: *It is not againſt our Kings, ſaid the Governour, that we have obtained places of ſecurity: They were allowed us to ſhelter us from the Malice of our ſworn Enemies; when we have the honour of his Majeſties preſence, we ſeek no other Security.* *Mr.* Du Pleſſis *his Life*. Bo. 3.

The Duke of *Vendoſme* ſeeing their Majeſties come in Earneſt, ſubmitted himſelf. He was reeſtabliſhed by new Patents, that were Recorded in the Parliament of *Rennes*: But he was much troubled at the Vehement Speeches that were made againſt him, and the reſolutions, ſo injurious to his Perſon, and altogether contrary to his Intereſts, concerted in the Eſtates of that Province of which he was Governour. So bad a beginning was indeed an ill preſage, for the reſt of his Life. He had never been able to make himſelf either Lov'd or Feard: and tho *Henry the* IV. his Father had Married him with the Heireſs of the Houſe of *Merceur*, who was one of the richeſt Subjects in Europe; yet he ſpent that vaſt ſubſtance which ſhe brought him. *French Mercury.* 1614.

1614.

The Death of the Prince of Conti.

The Queen being return'd in triumph to *Paris*, found her Court leſſen'd by the Death of *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conti*. The loſs was not great; he having never made any Figure in the World, which he left upon the 13th of *Auguſt*. His Widdow, being ſoon comforted for the loſs of ſo weak a Husband, was paſſionatly in love with *Baſſompierre*, to whom ſhe was Married, in Conſcience as we ſay. *Entreagues*, Siſter to the famous Marchioneſs of *Verrueil*, and Daughter to *Mary Touchet* the Miſtreſs of King *Charles* the IX. had laid a *proceſs* againſt him, on a promiſe of Marriage. This Man of Female Favours had two Wives at one time: The firſt was of an Houſe more fam'd for the fineneſs of the Wives that were Married to it, and Daughters that came out of it, than Martial Exploits: The other being a Daughter of the Duke *Guiſe*, and the Widdow of the Prince of the Bloud, ſhould have brought much Reſpect to *Baſſomperre*; but by a very croſs fortune, he would never own the one for his Lawful wife, and the Other durſt not own her Marriage.

New diviſions between the Dukes of Brandenbourg *and* Newbourg *touching the Adminiſtration of* Cleves *and* Juliers.

Whilſt the Queen ſolac'd her ſelf with the thoughts of the good ſucceſs of her Journey to *Poictiers* and *Brittany*, the Spaniards cunningly make their advantage of the ſecret Agreement they had made with her to aſſiſt her, and maintain her Authority in *France*, providing ſhe would ſupport, or at leaſt not openly oppoſe their Deſigns on *Germany* and *Italy*. That falſe policy of the Queen Regent, who ridicoulouſly fancy'd, that the ſupport of the Pope and King of *Spain*, were neceſſary for the ſuſtaining of her Authority, had made her do many things contrary to the true Intereſt of her Son. There are yet two things more of that kind which I will here relate. She ough never to have permited the Arch-Dukes of the Catholick *Netherlands*, to ſend the Maqueſs *Spinola* with a powerful Army to execute the Emperour's Proclamation, againſt the City of *Aix*, or under that pretence to ſeaſe on many important places in the Dominions of *Cleves* and *Juliers*.

Rohan's *Intereſt of Princes part.* 2d. *Diſ.* 5. *French Mercury.* 1614.

Since

Since the Marriage of the Duke of *Newbourg* with *Magdalen* of *Bavaria*, the Breach between him and the Duke of *Brandenbourg*, became wider than ever: All their thoughts are bent how to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt one another both at home and abroad. Ambition, and the Reſentment of an Affront receiv'd before the World, two Paſſions very blind, but powerful in the breſt of a young Prince, had engaged *Newbourg* to enter into a League with the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Dukes of the Catholick *Netherlands*: He was in hopes that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Catholick League of *Germany*, whereof the Duke of *Bavaria* was the Head, would aſſiſt him to poſſeſs himſelf of the Eſtates of the diſputed Succeſſion, ſo ſoon as he ſhould embrace the *Roman Communion*. 1614.

This way of revenging the Blow, which the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had given him, appear'd to him both more profitable and more glorious. He declares himſelf therefore *Roman Catholick* upon the 15th of *May* at *Duſſeldorp*. It is probable he had delay'd his abjuration of the *Ausbourg* Confeſſion on purpoſe, that appearing yet a Proteſtant, he might more eaſily make himſelf Maſter of ſome principal Towns in the diſputed Succeſſion. It was not without Deſign, that being at *Juliers* in *March*, he cauſed tell *Pitham* Governour of the Caſtle that he would enter it, with theſe of his Train: But this Officer being more engag'd to the Houſe of *Brandenbourg* than that of *Newbourg*, refuſed to admit the Prince, tho he ſhould enter unattended. *Pitham* grounded his procedure on an Agreement between the two Houſes, that the Governours of Caſtles and Forts ſhould not give entrance to any one of the Princes Poſſeſſors, unleſs the other were there preſent. The Governour ſtanding firm in his Reſolution; *Newbourg* continues his Journey to *Liege*; whither he went to viſit the Elector of *Cologn* his new Ally. The Prince of *Brandenbourg* a little after this, attempted to ſurpriſe *Duſſeldorp*, but miſſed his aim as well as the other.

1614. The States of *Holland*, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, did in vain exhort the two Houſes to Peace : Their Jealoſies dayly increaſe, eſpecially ſince *Newbourg* chang'd his Religion. The States of *Holland* therefore ſide with the Prince of *Brandenbourg*; ſeeing it was their Intereſt to prevent the whole Inheritance of *Cleves* and *Juliers* to fall into the poſſeſſion of a Prince devoted to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and engag'd in the Catholick League of *Germany*. *Brandenbourg* agreed, that they ſhould ſecure to themſelves the City and Caſtle of *Juliers*, putting a Gariſon therein, and keeping them as it were in pledg. Their attempt ſucceded by means of *Pitham* whom they had gain'd, who receiv'd into the Town and Caſtle, the Officers and Souldiers ſent by *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*. *Newbourg* on the otherſide by his Conduct became Maſter of *Duſſeldorp*, where he Fortifi'd himſelf in the beſt manner he could. Theſe Interpriſes of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* appear'd to be the preambles to an open War that would ſhortly break out. In a Conference held at *Weſel* an Accomodation was talk'd of; but *Newbourg* refuſing to diſmiſs his Troops unleſs the Town and Caſtle of *Juliers* were put in the ſame condition they were in before the entry of the Dutch Gariſon, it broke up without effect; And now all their thoughts are, how to Maintain their Right by open Force, and the aſſiſtance of Allies. But the Event was quite different from what the two Princes expected: For the *Spaniards* and States of *Holland* under colour of giving help, the one to the Houſe of *Brandenbourg*, and the other to that of *Newbourg*, divided betwixt themſelves almoſt all the diſputed Inheritance.

Aix la-Chappelle is proſcribed by the Emperor. French Mercury. 1614.

The Emperour *Rodolphus* had put the City of *Aix-la-Chappelle* under the proſcription of the Empire, for the change of the Magiſtracy made by the Proteſtants in the Year 1611. But this Prince dying, before the Arck-Duke *Albert* his Brother, and *Erneſt* of *Bavaria* then Elector of *Cologn*, durſt execute the Commiſſion of his Imperial Majeſty to re-

duce

duce the Inhabitants of *Aix* the Duke of *Sweybruck* Adminiſtrator of the Palatinate and Vicar of the Empire during the Interreign, did anul whatever *Rodolph* had done againſt *Aix-la-Chappelle*. *Matthias* the late Emperour's Brother having ſucceeded him in the Empire, complaint is made at the Imperial Court, of the Enterpriſe of the Duke of *Sweybruck*, and the Roman Catholicks urge the execution of the Imperial proſcription. The Emperour eaſily agreed to a thing approv'd by the Pope and Spaniards. He was alſo perſwaded that the Duke had paſſed the bounds of his Authority, and encroach'd on that of the Emperour, in diſanulling what *Rodolph* had done. *Aix-le-Chappelle* therefore was a ſecond time proſcribed by the Empire on the 20th of *Febru.* in the ſame year: And the Arch-Duke *Albert* with *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria*, ſucceſſor to *Erneſt* in the Electorat of *Cologn*, had a Commiſſion to cauſe to execute the new Mandate. 1614.

Albert forthwith raiſes great Levies in the Netherlands of his Dominions. The States of *Holland*, attentive to the proceedings of the Spaniards in their Neighbourhood, took Arms on their ſide. It was good policy for them to keep upon their Guard, and to oppoſe the Attempts the Houſe of *Auſtria* might think fit to make upon *Cleves* and *Juliers*. So many Forces were not neceſſary to oblige *Aix-la-Chappelle* to ſurrender. It was eaſie to diſcern that the Spaniards conceal'd a more important Deſign. The two Armies remained for ſome time without moving; whilſt each ſeem'd to fear to incur the reproach of firſt breaking the Truce, which yet continued between the Arch-Dukes and States of *Holland*. *France* and *England* ought Naturally to have interceeded in theſe differences, and to have hindred the Houſe of *Auſtria* from attempting upon the controverted Succeſſion: But *Phillip* had his Penſioners in *France* and *England*. Being aſſur'd therefore that they would ſtand Newter, he reſolves that *Spinola* his General in the Netherlands, ſhould

March

1614. March as ſoon as poſſible under pretence of the Imperial proſcription againſt *Aix-la-Chappelle*, and in his return ſhould ſieſe on the beſt places of the Eſtates of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. This was the way to diſpoſe at his pleaſure afterwards of the fine Succeſſion. The attempt of the Hollanders on the Town and Caſtle ſeem'd ſufficient to Juſtify what they had long ago deſign'd.

Spinola *reduces* Aix-la-Chappelle, *and takes ſeveral places in* Cleves *and Juliers.*

Spinola having taken the Field with an Army of about Thirty thouſand Men, paſſes the *Meuſe* at *Maſtrickt*, and goes ſtraight to Inveſt *Aix-la-Chappelle*; whoſe Inhabitants being to weak to reſiſt, upon the Second day beg'd quarter and Surrender'd. *Spinola* being Maſter of the Town reſtores the former Catholick Magiſtrates, and diſplaces the Proteſtants. Some of thoſe who had been concern'd in the alteration of 1611, were impriſoned; and others eſcaped by leaping over the Walls. *Spinola* having order'd things here after his own Fancy, Marches towards the Dominion of *Cleves*. *Duren* open'd to him its Gates; and from thence he paſſes to *Mulheim*, razes its Fortifications, and fills up the Ditches, in proſecution of certain Imperial *Mandates*, obtain'd by thoſe of *Cologn*, who had ever oppoſed the building of a New Town which the Princes of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* had begun ſome Years ago.

Mauvice *Prince of* Orange *takes ſeveral Towns in the ſame Country.*

Maurice Prince of *Orange* who was then at the Fort of *Schenk* at the head of an Army of Eighteen thouſand Men, begins alſo to take Places on his ſide; And in a ſmall time makes himſelf Maſter of *Emeric*, *Rees*, and ſome other Towns. One thing was here to be ſeen which was very extraordinary. Two oppoſit Armies ſeize upon the Inheritance of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without breaking the Truce that was between them, and without aſſaulting or drawing the Sword againſt one another.

Rohan's *Intereſt of Princes p. 2. diſ. 5.*

The moſt diligent General made greateſt progreſs; if one took one place, the other withdrew without pretending to it. 'Tis reported that *Maurice* ſent only to ask *Spinola*, in what Princes name he

he enter'd the Countrey with an Armed force; and that he anſwered by propoſiug the like queſtion to *Maurice*. *Spinola* durſt not incounter *Maurice*, whoſe Army was more brave and better diſciplin'd than his own; and *Maurice* was unwilling to hazard thoſe Troops that made up the chief ſtrength of the United Provinces. He believ'd that the States of *Holland* had enough of Glory and Advantage by Sharing with the King of *Spain* without any danger, the Inheritance of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. The two Generals continued their Expedition without any other emulation, but who ſhould make moſt ſpeed. *Spinola* ended his by detaching a part of his Army towards *Juliers*, where he yet took ſome Places. *Maurice* ſent his Brother Prince *Federic-Henry* to the Dutchy of *Mark* to do the like. This was a new way of making War abroad to remain good Friends in all places. 1614.

The Conference of Santheim upon the affairs of the Inheritance of Cleves and Juliers.

It is no leſs ſurpriſing that the King of *England*, the Queen Regent of *France* and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, were idle ſpectators of all theſe motions in an affair wherein all of them at firſt ſeem'd ſo much to concern themſelves. But why? The Queen of *France* being devoted to the Court at *Madrid*, contented her ſelf only to give good Words, and ſend Ambaſſages to propoſe an agreement. King *James*, whoſe Council was alſo ſold to *Spain*, did not think himſelf oblig'd to be more concern'd than the Queen Regent. The Princes of *Germany* being abandon'd by the two Crowns, and divided in Intereſt and Affection, little could be expected from them. However on this Occaſion ſomething muſt be done; the Inheritance of *Cleves* and *Julliers* lye expoſed to him who firſt ſeizes on it. *France* therefore, *England*, *Denmark*, the States of *Holland*, the Count *Palatine*, the Elector of *Cologn*, and ſome other *German* Princes ſend at lenth their Miniſters to *Santheim* to concert means to put a ſtop to theſe troubles, and end that long Difference. *Brandenbourg*, and *Newbourg*, having each given their Demands with their Reaſons in writing, Articles are drawn up, which

1614. which the two Princes are to Obſerve for the time, till the diſpute ſhould be decided by Courſe of Juſtice: But when the Articles came to be offer'd to the Approbation of *Spain* and the States of *Holland*, there appear'd ſo much difficulty in the Execution, that it was impoſſible to terminate the affair. The States laid the fault on *Spinola*, and the Spaniards on Prince *Maurice*. But the truth is, neither of 'em deſir'd an Accomodation; each deſigning to make Advantage of what they had got.

The Duke of Savoy *falls out with* Spain *more than ever.*

The good Succeſs of the Spaniſh Arms in *Germany*, made the Miniſters of the Catholick King more haughty in *Italy*: But *Inoioſa* Governour of *Milan*, had neither the Courage nor Conduct of *Spinola*. The Duke of *Savoy* openly laugh'd at the Spaniſh Menaces. *Aſſure me, ſaid he, that* France *will not aſſault me, and I ſhall eaſily defend my ſelf againſt the Catholick King. We very well know the ſtrength of* Spain *at preſent; She is not ſo formidable as under* Charles *the fifth, and the firſt years of the Reign of his Son. The Duke of* Savoy *is not the moſt powerful Neighbour of Philip; but poſſibly he fears him leſs than any other.* The Duke therefore reſolving to maintain his Dignity againſt a People who always ſpoke to him as Maſters, prepar'd himſelf for an open rupture with *Spain*. Scarce had the Marqueſs of *Ceuvers* left *Italy*, but the Spaniards, pleaſed to ſee themſelves ſole Umpires of the Difference between the Houſes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, Summon *Charles Emmanuel* to conclude the Marriage of his Daughter the Widdow of Duke *Francis* with the Cardinal *Ferdinand* Duke of *Mantua*, and to lay down his Arms as ſoon as poſſible: Immediatly after which they promiſed to endeavour the accomodation of the Difference with the Cardinal Duke. The Duke of *Savoy* coldly anſwered, that he could not diſmiſs his Army, when *France* was in Arms on all ſides. *As for the* Marriage *of my Daughter with his Brother in Law,* added he, *my Council is of Opinion that I ought firſt to have Juſtice done me, and to be ſav'd harmleſs in my pretenſions upon* Monferrat *and*

the

the Houſe of Mantua. The Ambaſſador prayed his Highneſs to give him that Anſwer in writing that he might ſend it to his Maſter; which the Duke readily granted: And to ſhow the Spaniards that he would not obey them as a Subject he ordered new Levies to be made, cauſed Ordinance to be Caſt, and fill'd his Magazins in the ſight of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador. 1614.

This Reſolution made the Spaniſh Miniſter fear, leaſt the Duke diſcourag'd by the haughty uſage of *Inoiòſa*, might abandon himſelf to ſome deſperat Reſolution. He propoſes therefore to his Royal Highneſs in a more gentle tone to ſend Lawyers to *Milan*, with power to treat with thoſe who ſhould come from the Cardinal Duke, upon the mutual pretenſions of the two Houſes. The Governour of *Milan* and the Prince of *Caſtiglione* were to be Mediators of that new Negotiation on the part of the Emperor and King of *Spain*. *Savoy* who could not refuſe this Propoſal, names three of his ableſt Lawyers. They meet on both ſides, and propoſe divers expedients to accomodate the two Princes. The firſt Demands of the Savoyards are extravagant; which they afterwards moderated. The Prince of *Caſtiglione* had poſſibly ended the matter on reaſonable terms enough, of a double Marriage between the two Houſes, and reſigning ſome part of *Monferrat* near to *Piemont*, and lying conveniently for the Duke of *Savoy*, if the Governour of *Millan* more impatient than *Caſtiglione*, had not ſpoill'd all with his pride: he was vex'd that the Duke of *Savoy* made difficulty to accept the Conditions propoſed by the Spaniards, and cauſe to dintimate to him impetuouſly, that he muſt lay down his Arms within Six days. Before the giving ſuch an abſolute Command, it had been requiſit to be in a condition to extort Obedience, in caſe of a refuſal. It was very unſeaſonable to ſend ſuch perremptor Orders in the name of the King of *Spain*, with out Forces ready to fall upon the Dominions of the Duke, who had ſufficiently declar'd he would ſtand out to the laſt extremity. When

1614. When a State believes it ſelf Superior; it becomes imperious, and inſtead of treating, will give Laws. The Spaniards under the Reign of *Philip* the II. had carried ſo ſtately, that they could not do otherwiſe after his Death; tho *Spain* had already given aſſured tokens of her declining. What *Spain* did then, *France* is deſirous to imitate in our days. She has ſpoken with an intollerable Pride to the Grandſon of *Charles Emmanuel*: He has been fiercely threatned with the Armes of the King. What was the ſequel? The Duke of *Savoy* not leſs Courageous, but more prudent than his Grandfather, ſcorn'd like him to be treated as a Subject: He joyn'd himſelf to the numerous Enemies of *France*: And in a ſmall time he ſaw thoſe, who had taken ſome Towns, and gain'd ſome Battels, ſpeak to him in a humble manner: Happy were they indeed ſhamfully to buy a Peace of a Prince whom they had lately diſdain'd! *Within three Months, ſaid a proud and brutiſh Miniſter of* France, *the Duke of* Savoy *ſhall be no more nam'd.* The Hiſtory of our time will ſpeak of him otherways than this man imagin'd. Poſterity will with amazement and pleaſure read that a Crown ſo ſtatly hath been glad, that the Duke of *Savoy* was ſatisfied with her renouncing all ſhe had taken on the ſide of *Italy* in this and the preceeding Reign.

The Duke of Savoy *ſtrives to get the* Venetians *on his ſide.*

Howſoever diſatisfied the *Venetians* were with the reſtleſs and ſtirring humour of the Duke of *Savoy*, who to ſatisfie his Ambition, endeavour'd to diſturb the Peace of *Italy*, yet they were not diſpleaſed to ſee a Prince of a Power ſo inequal to that of *Spain*, to dare and perplex a People that endeavour'd to give Laws to all the World. The undaunted Courage with which the Duke maintain'd his dignity againſt a Sovereign Prince, ſo pleaſed the Senate, that it diſpoſed them the more readily to hearken to the propoſitions he made. The Duke being perſwaded that there were ſome among the Senators, who being haughty, and hating the Pride and Arrogance of the Spaniards, would

Nan. Hiſtoria Veneta Lib. 1. 1914. *Siri Memo. recond. Tom.* 3. *p* 253, 254

would be willing to remove from their Frontiers an imperious and daring Nation, was thinking to ſound the inclinations of the Senate, and to propoſe a League Offenſive and Defenſive for preſerving, or rather recovering the Liberty of the Italian Princes : but he knew not how to begin a Negotiation with People that made open complaints of him, and whoſe Ambaſſador he had ſent back in an unworthy manner. Cardinal *Aldobrandin* his Friend had in vain eſſay'd to ſet him to rights with the Senate. King *James* the firſt of Great *Britain* ſought to interpoſe in the affairs of *Italy*, and to gain Authority and Credit on that ſide : He had of a long time emprov'd the Amity of the *Venetians* ; and the Duke of *Savoy* kept Correſpondence in *England*. The Duke therefore bethinks himſelf to apply to *Carleton* King *James*'s Ambaſſador at *Venice*, and pray him to procure an Audience to *Piſcina*, a learned and eloquent Man whom he had ſent to the Republique. This he readily obtained : For the Signiory being better pleaſed with the Duke, ſince the breach with the Spaniards, conſented to receive his Envoy. 1614.

Piſcina uſed all his Eloquence in his ſpeech to the Senate : He complains of the Attempts of the King of *Spain*, proteſts that the Duke his Maſter would rather die, than ſuffer the unworty uſage of the Spaniards; deplores the unhappy ſervitude of the Princes of *Italy*, diſcourſes of the conſequences of the Power aſſum'd by the Court of *Madrid*; conjures the Senat to conſider ſeriouſly all the proceedings of his Catholick Majeſties Miniſters : In fine the whole intent of that long Diſcourſe was to perſwade that the Duke his Maſter who gloried to be the eldeſt Son of the Republick, did throw himſelf into the Arms of the Senate the Protector of afflicted Princes ; that his Highneſs earneſtly pray'd them to aſiſt him with their good advice, and to become a Father to him. And whereas the Duke had given ſome cauſe of complaint to the Venetians, by his irruption into *Monferrat* in ſpight of their Re-

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1614. Remonſtrances, he had order'd his Envoy to appeaſe them, by offering to make them Arbitrators of his Difference with the Houſe of *Mantua*,

The Venetian Authors embelliſh as much as poſſile theſe paſſages of their Hiſtory : And they ſeem deſirous to inſinuate that Sovereigns have the ſame reſpect and deference for their Senate, that Powerful Kings have ſometime had for that of *Rome*. I am willing to give that which is due to the City of *Venice* ; but I judge it much inferiour to that of *Rome* ; after ſhe had extended her Dominion over *Africa*, *Spain*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*. The Romans themſelves ridicul'd thoſe Kings whohu mbly crawl'd before them : And I know not if the Title of the eldeſt Son of St. *Mark* which *Charles Emmanuel* aſſum'd was not as unbecoming to a Duke of *Savoy*, as that of Freeman of the People of *Rome* was to a Soverain of a very conſiderable Kingdom. A Prince who pretended to make himſelf famous throughout *Europe*, by ſo well defending his Dignity againſt the King of *Spain*, ought to have reckon'd it a diſgrace to creep as it were before the Nobles of *Venice*, who are neither of a very conſiderable Original, nor of antient independence. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador then at *Venice* knew how to make this appear at any time. He was the famous Marqueſs of *Bedmar* whoſe name will ever be hated by the Venetians on more than one account.

When this Miniſter, who was as Jealous as any, of the glory of his Prince ; had heard what *Piſcina* had ſaid in his Maſters name to the Senate, he deſir'd to be heard in his turn. The Spaniard ſpoke ſmartly of the good intentions of his Maſter for the Preſervation of the Quiet of *Italy*, of the Mony he had expended, and the care he had always taken for that effect. *The King my* Maſter, ſaid *Bedmar*, *had a rightful title to make uſe of the moſt effectual and moſt forcible means, to bring the Duke of* Savoy *to the reaſonable Conditions he had often offer'd him. The Fear of occaſioning too much Jealouſy to the Princes of* Italy, *was that alone which reſtrain'd him on this Occaſion. He has had all imagi-*

imaginable Patience, and try'd the moſt Proper Expedients to terminate the Difference which has been of a very long continuance between the Houſes of Savoy *and Mantua. If the meekneſs and Clemency of the King my Maſter has only rendred the Duke of* Savoy *more proud and daring; ought it to appear ſtrange, that his Majeſty now threatens to uſe the Power which God has given him, and protects by his Arms the Cardinal Duke of Mantua unjuſtly aſſaulted: The proceedings of the Duke of* Savoy *are very well known in the World. Now becauſe he finds himſelf oblig'd to reſt ſatisfied with the reaſonable conditions that are offer'd, and to diſperſe the Forces which his reſtleſſneſs and Ambition made him raiſe at great charges, he ingages in intreagues, and endeavours to deceive the Princes of* Italy, *with a deſign to delay the proffer'd agreement, and to avoid the confuſion of laying down his Arms after ſo great a Buſtle. The Senate is wiſe and diſcerning; and knows by a long enough Experience, the Humor and diſſimulation of the Duke of* Savoy; *and this will ſuffice to prevent being dazled by the Artificial diſcourſes of this New Envoy.* 1614.

The Venetians favour'd the Duke of *Savoy* more than the Miniſters of the King of *Spain*, yet they would not enter into any engagment with him. They excuſed themſelves from intermedling in the Affair of *Monferrat*, and the mutual pretentions of the Houſes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*; the Arbitrement having been referr'd to the Emperour and the King of *Spain*. They exhort his Highneſs to an agreement with the Cardinal Duke, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Catholick King, to yield to the ſtrongeſt as much as was conſiſtent with the Quality of a Sovereign. In fine the Senate endevour'd to comfort him by promiſing him their good offices on that occaſion, and giving him aſſurance, that they would not ſuffer him to be oppreſſed. The Spaniards were diſpleaſed that the Envoy of *Savoy* had been ſo well receiv'd at *Venice*. The Governour of *Milan* who was already vex'd at the Republick, having openly complain'd thereof; Jealouſies encreaſed on all ſides; ſo that the Senate

1614. gave orders for new Levies, and kept upon their Guard, in case their should be an open Rupture between *Spain* and *Savoy*. Nevertheless the Venetians affected a perfect Neutrality abroad: They spoke rather as common Friends that sought to be Mediators, than as such who are disposed to side with one party rather than another. But what care soever they had to conceal their real thoughts; the Court of *Madrid* did not trust them. They very well knew that they would never suffer the Duke of *Lerma* to execute his design to destroy *Savoy*, and to put the Princes of *Italy* in an intire dependance on the will of the Catholick King. The Jealousies and Suspitions of the Spaniards became afterwards yet more apparent. The Duke of *Savoy* had sent the son of his chief Minister of State to *Venice* in quality of an ordinary Ambassador: And order'd *Renier Zeno* to abide near the Duke when he was at open War with *Spain*.

Rambouillet *sent Ambassador to* Italy

The Duke of *Savoy* relied upon the French Officers and Souldiers, who as he was perswaded would not fail to hasten to his Service, so soon as the Governour of *Milan* should make shew of assaulting *Piemont*. His Highness kept always a close correspondence with the Marshal *Lesdiguiers* who commanded in *Dauphiny*; and the Spaniards question'd not but that ancient Friend of the Dukes would willingly assist him. These considerations oblige *Innigo d' Cardinas* the Spanish Ambassador in *France* to depart for *Nantes*, where the Queen then was. He had receiv'd orders to complain to her Majesty of the Obstinacy of the Duke of *Savoy*, and to make sure of *France*, in case the Catholick King should be under Necessity to defend the Cardinal Duke of *Mantua* from open force, and to punish the Pride and temerity of *Charles Emmanuel*. The matter being considered in the Queens Council, they found it necessary to accomodate so soon as possible a Difference, the consequences of which might go a great way. It was no more a Quarrel between the Houses of *Savoy* and *Mantua*: But it

was

1614.

was to be fear'd the Spaniards ſhould take *Piemont* by force. The Marqueſs of *Rambouillet* was nam'd Ambaſſador Extraordinary for her Majeſty in *Italy* to Negotiate an Agreement in conjuction with *Jules Savell* Nuncio Extraordinary of the Pope. *France* and *Spain* had ſollicited *Paul* the V. to interpoſe his Authority with the Duke of *Savoy*; but the good man car'd not to meddle in the affairs of *Savoy*. The Duke profeſſed no great regard for his Holineſs, and the Pope ſaid that he had no pleaſure in treating with a Prince, in whoſe word he could not confide. The ſolicitation of *Spain* came very ſeaſonably to prevent the Duke of *Savoy* from drawing French Officers and Souldiers into his ſervice. The Marſhal of *Leſdiguieres* ſent to ask leave of her Majeſty to raiſe in *Dauphiny* two thouſand Foot and ſome Horſe for the Duke of *Savoy*: which the Queen refuſed, and moreover diſcharged all Frenchmen to ſerve that Prince. But notwithſtanding the perremptory and ſevere Orders of the Queen; *Leſdiguieres* found the means to ſend ſome thouſands of Men into *Piemont*, which greatly ſtrengthened the Army of *Savoy*.

Hiſtery of Conſtable Leſdiguieres *Bo* 8. *ch.* 7.

An open War between Spain *and* Savoy.

The Duke remain'd conſtant in his reſolution not to diſmiſs his Troops, unleſs the Governour of *Milan* would lay down his Arms on his ſide, or give aſſurance that he would do it, immediatly after the Duke: In deference to the Royal Majeſty he would firſt begin. *Inoioſa* was no leſs fix'd to his pretentions, that the King his Maſter had right to command, and that it belong'd not to the Duke of *aSvoy* to treat with the Crown of *Spain* upon an equal Foot Nothing therefore remain'd but an open War. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador at *Turin*, having much upbraided the Duke declares to him in good earneſt, that his Catholick Majeſty, irritated with ſo long reſiſtance, reſolved at lenght to do himſelf Juſtice. The Duke heard him without being mov'd, and taking off his Golden Fleece, which had been formerly given him, he return'd it to the Ambaſſador

Nan. Hiſtoria Veneta Lib. 12. 1614.

Siri Memo. recond. Tom. 3. *p.* 266. 267.

French Mercury. 1614.

1614. with a diſdainful Air. *God forbid*, ſaid he, *that I ever wear the Order of a Prince, who pretends to treat me as a Subject.* The Governour of *Milan* had ſome Troops ready to March, and he yet expected a new reinforcement from *Naples* and *Sicily*. *Inoioſa* therefore advances near *Verceil*, thinking that the Duke would humby ſubmit himſelf, ſo ſoon as the Spaniſh Army ſhould enter his Country. It was believ'd, not to be without deſign that the King of *Spain* had order'd Prince *Philibert*, the Duke's Son, whom his Catholick Majeſty had made General of his Sea-Forces, to Lead in Perſon to *Genua* the Forces deſign'd againſt the Duke of *Savoy* : He deſign'd thereby to inſult over the Duke, by cauſing his Son to carry the Rods, as it were, to the Governour of *Milan*, with which *Phillip* or rather the Duke of *Lerma* intended to whip a petty Prince, that dar'd to reſiſt a great King.

Theſe bravadoes did not diſmay the Duke ; who entring the Dominions of the *Milaneſe*, did more dammage there than the Spaniards had done in his Country. His Highneſs alſo acquired Glory and Reputation, For in fine the Marqueſs of *Inoioſa* appear'd ſo unskilful in the trade of War ; that the Spaniſh Army loſt many excellent occaſions of Subduing the Savoiards who were much inferior to him in Number. The ill Management of this expedition did render the Governour of *Milan* altogether contemptible in *Italy* : Every one was pleaſed to ſee the Spaniſh pride brought low. *Inoioſa*, to revenge himſelf in ſome ſort, and make his Court to the Duke of *Lerma* who protected him, attempted to raiſe a Fort near *Verceil*, upon ground belonging to the King of *Spain* ; giving it the name of the Fort of *Sandoval*, which is the ſurname of the Family of the Duke of *Lerma*. His deſign in this was to curb *Verceil*, to cover the Juriſdictions of *Milan*, and to prevent irruptions of Strangers, who might eaſily have enter'd at that place.

This had been of a long time deſign'd by the Spaniards ; but the fear of allarming the neighbouring

bouring Princes had hitherto witheld the Spaniſh Court, which only waited for a favourable opportunity. *Inoioſa* therefore would not let ſlip this of the Rupture with *Savoy*. But his great Service which he pretended to do his Maſter, was not able to defend him from the reproaches of the diſcerning Men of his Nation : Who complain'd that the Governour had loſt the beſt time of building the Fort of *Sandoval* : And ſaid openly that he might have reduc'd the Duke of *Savoy*, when he entered before into *Piedmont*, with a Force much ſuperior to that of his. The whole Court of *Madrid* inveigh'd moſt bitterly both againſt *Inoioſa* and the Duke : They accus'd the firſt of Slowneſs, Couardice, Ignorance, and poſſibly Treachery. As for the Duke, his Name was abhorr'd and deteſted; and the Chief Minſter of King *Philip* threatned him with nothing leſs than utter Deſtruction. 1614.

The Spaniards were yet more ridicul'd in *Italy*, for attempting to Fight with their Pens againſt the Duke of *Savoy*. The Captain General of Juſtice in the Eſtate of *Milan*, caus'd poſt up a Paper, wherein he declar'd, that the County of *Aſt*, and other Seignories, which the Duke of *Savoy*, as they ſaid, held in Fee of the Dukes of *Milan*, were forfeited to his Catholick Majeſty, by the Rebellion of *Charles Emanuel* his Vaſſal. The Prince of *Caſtiglione* alſo Commiſſioner of the Empire in *Italy*, caus'd intimate a Mandate to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein he was charg'd in the Name of the Emperour immediatly to Disband his Army, and to refrain from all Acts of Hoſtility in *Montferrat*, and the Lands of the Cardinal Duke of *Mantua*; under Pain of being put under the Proſcription of the Empire. The Duke of *Savoy* did alſo on his part vigorouſly defend himſelf with the Pen. His Court of Exchequer declar'd by a publick Act, that Count d'*Aſt* is an immediat Vaſſal to the Empire, and that the other Lands mention'd by his Catholick Majeſty's Offi-

Writings interchanged between Spain *and* Savoy.

1614. cer were never Fees of the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Emperor was treated more reſpectfully. *Charles Emmanuel* Writ him a long Letter by way of Apology and Manifeſto; Wherein the Duke gives an account of his Conduct in the Affair, and complains mightily of the haughtineſs and enterpriſes of the King of *Spain*, and accuſes the Prince of *Caſtiglione*, for being devoted to the Spaniſh humour, in oppoſition to the true Intereſt of his Imperial Majeſty. Some ſay, the Spaniards were not very well contented with the proceedings of *Caſtiglione*. They would have had him to outlaw the Principality of *Piemont* from the Empire, and give the Governor of *Milan* the Execution of the Outlawry. The Imperial Court had no mind to move ſo precipitantly. They were not ſo blind, but that they perceiv'd the Spaniards were already too Powerful in *Italy*.

The Pope's Nuncio and the Ambaſſadour of France *indeavour an Accommodation between* Spain *and* Savoy.

While the Spaniards and Savoiards are Fighting, partly with the Sword, and partly with the Pen; The Marqueſs of *Rambouillet* and the Nuncio *Savelli* propoſed different Projects of accommodation between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governour of *Milan*. The Regent of *France*, who was otherwiſe not over ſatisfied with the Duke of *Savoy*, and was very cautious to keep fair with *Spain*; Gave Orders to her Ambaſſadour to promote the Peace of *Italy*, without troubling himſelf much in giving ſatisfaction to the proud niceties of *Charles Emanuel*, who pretended to treat with Crowns as if he were their equal. *Rambouillet* then preſſed the Duke of *Savoy* to lay down Arms firſt, upon the Governour of *Milan* his Word, paſſed in the Name of his Maſter to the Pope and King of *France*, that he would not attack neither *Piemint* nor the other Countries belonging to the Houſe of *Savoy*, and that his Catholick Majeſty ſhould Disband his Troups in Fifteen or Twenty days after him. The Pope and the King of *France* offer'd to be Guarrantees of the Treaty; And *Rambouillet* proteſted to *Charles Emmanuel*, that in

Nan. Hiſt. Ven. lib. 1. 1614.

Siri Mem. rec. tom. 3. *p.* 297.

French Merc. 1614

Caſe

Caſe *Spain* counteracted the Treaty, *Les diguieres* ſhould come to his Aſſiſtance with all the Force of *France*. The Duke wrangl'd a little while upon it. He thought it was not proper for him to put too great Confidence in the Word of *France*, at a time when they were more cloſely engag'd to the Crown of *Spain* than ever. He conſider'd likewiſe, that, if the Governour of *Milan* ſhould not Disband till after him, he ſhould be at the Diſcretion of the Spaniards, who might turn him out of *Piemont* before the *French* relief could paſs the *Alpes*. But when he reflected on the other hand, that if he provok'd the Pope and *France* by refuſeing too ſtiffly, the termes propos'd by his Miniſters, he would be abandon'd by all the World. At this Rate *Charles Emmanuel* was in ſuch a quandary, that he did not know what ſide to turn to. 1614.

A League with the Republick of *Venice* was his only Relief. He ſollicited the Senate with all his might, to join with him in expelling the Spaniards from *Milan*. *Spain*, ſaid he to *Zeno* the Venetian Ambaſſadour, *is not what ſhe formerly was. The Country of* Milan *is open on all ſides: It may be carried in one or two Campains. If* France *does not declare for us, at leaſt ſhe will not be againſt us. Her beſt Officers, and her beſt train'd Soldiers, will come and Fight for us, even with the King's own conſent. The Princes of* Italy, *that depend upon* Spain, *will riſe up againſt her, when they ſee her Power diſputed by us. Every one will be glad to make the moſt of the ſpoil.* 'Twas in vain that the Duke exhauſted all his Eloquence and Politicks in adreſſing the Senate. That ſage Society were not diſpos'd to follow the impetuous and vindictive humour of *Charles Emmanuel*. Too long experience had taught them that his Highneſs mean'd only to raiſe Tumults, and put *Italy* in a Combuſtion; In the hope of aggrandizing himſelf, or at leaſt makeing the World talk of him. His Remonſtrances and Propoſals met with the like ſorry Reception from the Court of *England*, the States of the United Provinces, and the Proteſtant

1614. ſtant Princes of *Germany*. He propos'd Leagues to all the the Courts that were jealous of the Grandeur of *Spain*, and yet found none willing to enter into his Vaſt and Chimerical Projects. Only the King of *England* did him ſome good Offices among the *Venetians*. But the whole of that, was, to repreſent to the Senate, that 'twas not proper, *Spain* ſhould be ſuffer'd to oppreſs the Duke of *Savoy*; and that they ſhould find out Meaſures for accommodation, that might be honourable, certain, and as advantagious as poſſible to a Prince that made a conſiderable figure in *Italy*.

The Duke of Savoy accepts the propoſed Terms and Spain *refuſes them.*

Charles Emmanuel having reflected ſeriouſly upon the condition of Affairs, reſolv'd at length to do as he had done formerly on the like Occaſions. That was, to accept the Conditions that the Nuncio and the Ambaſſadour of *France* propoſed to him. The fear of having all the World upon his Back, and the Hopes that the Mediatours would ſide with him, if the Spaniards demurr'd to conſent to the Project of accommodation, contributed much to the ſudden change that appear'd in the Duke's Spirit. Accordingly *Sambellet* and *Rambouillet* drew up at *Verceuil* a proviſional Treaty, in expectation of the definitive Sentence upon the Difference between the Duke of *Savoy* and *Mantua*; and *Charles Emmanuel* offer'd freely to Sign it. But *Inoioſa* was not willing. He then join'd in the Intereſts of the Cardinal Duke of *Mantua* with as much heat, as he had formerly diſplay'd in favouring the Duke of *Savoy*. He rejected one Article importing that a certain Dependence of *Montferrat*, call'd *Canaveſe*, ſhould continue Sequeſtrate till the Conteſts between the two Houſes were adjuſted by Arbitratours choſen on both ſides. In the Town of *Aſt*, the Mediatours form'd another Project of a Treaty in the preſence of *Charles Emmanuel*; In which they left out the Article of *Canaveſe*. In the room of that Article they put in, that the Cardinal Duke ſhould pay the Portion and reſtore the Jewels of *Margrat* his Siſter in Law in a certain prefix'd time;

And

And that over and above theſe he ſhould pay in two Years the Portion of the Dutcheſs *Blanche* of *Monferrat*, which the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* had long diſputed about. The other Articles provided that the Priſoners and Places taken on either ſide ſhould be given up; and that each of the two Princes ſhould Pardon his Subjects that had ſerved againſt him. 1614.

Charles Emmanuel ſign'd willingly; being overcontented that he had nether ſatisfaction to make, nor Pardon to beg of the King of *Spain*. But the Marqueſs of *Rambouillet* was blam'd for hurrying the Negotiation too faſt. The Spaniards ſaid he had ſuffer'd himſelf to be inveigled by the Duke of *Savoy*. Others ſaid, he was too impatient to return to the Court of *France*. In all appearance the Cardinal Duke could not but agree to the Propos'd accommodation: For in effect he could not avoid paying the Portion and returning the Jewels of his Brother's Widow. As for the Portion of the D. *Blanche* of *Monferrat*. He alledg'd that the Houſe of *Mantua* was clear'd of that; ſo that when they ask'd it he cou'd make anſwer, that his Predeceſſors had ſatisfied the debt already: but he was ſo devoted to the Spaniards, in order to obtain their Protection, that he durſt accept of nothing without their conſent. Accordingly when he ſaw they rejected the Treaty of *Aſt* ſo diſdainfully, notwithſtanding that the Pope and the Republick of *Venice* had approv'd of it as reaſonable, he declar'd he would rather die than conſent to it. The Emperour thought it very ſtrange, that he was not ſo much as once mention'd in an accomodation, relating to a conſidrable Fee of the Empire, but they did not trouble themſelves much with his complaints. The King of *Spain* his Couſin had leſs regard than any body elſe to the rights of the Emperor in *Italy*. The Court of *France* were divided in their Opinions of the Treaty of *Aſt*. *Mary de Medicis*, who deſign'd to keep in with *Spain*, and had a great deal of reaſon to be angry with the Duke of *Savoy*, was not well ſatisfied with what *Rambouillet* had done. She would

Siri Mem. rec. Tom. 3. p. 293. Nan. Hiſt. Veneta. l. 1. 1614. French Mercury. 1614.

1614. gladly have given *Charles Emmanuel* the Mortification of humbling himſelf before the King of *Spain* once more. But the Duke had his friends in *France*. A great many at the Court of *France* cry'd out againſt the Pride and haughty carriage of the Spaniards, that would oblige the Duke to Disband 15 or 20 days before the Governor of *Milan*; that would oblige a Sovereign Prince whom the Duke of *Lerma* hated mortally, to ſubmit himſelf to the diſcretion of the King of *Spain* and his Favorite, and ask Pardon of his Majeſty for not obeying the Orders of the Court of *Madrid*. Was ever ſuch arrogance ſeen.

When the Treaty of *Aſt* was brought to *Inoioſa* to be Sign'd, he coldly anſwered that he had juſt receiv'd Orders from his Maſter, not to conclude a Peace with the Duke of *Savoy*. The Mediators being ſurpriſed at the unexpected refuſal, deſir'd at leaſt a ceſſation of Arms for Forty days, till he got an Anſwer from *Madrid*. The Governout of *Milan* refuſed that; but he gave 'em to know, that ſince the Winter was already begun, the badneſs of the ſeaſon would oblige him to do what they demanded. The Marqueſs of *Bedmar* Ambaſſador for *Spain* at *Venice*, made a great noiſe there. *'Tis a peice of ſtaring injuſtice*, ſaid he to the Senate, *that the Duke of* Savoy *is not puniſh'd for diſturbing the Repoſe of* Italy. *Ought not all the Potentates intereſted in its continuation, to join with the King my Maſter in puniſhing the temerity of the Duke of* Savoy. *Carleton* the Engliſh Ambaſſador was upon another ſtrain. He ſollicited with all his might that the Senat would declare to the Spaniards that the Treaty of *Aſt* was reaſonable, and that 'twas the opinion of all diſintereſted Courts that his Catholick Majeſty ſhould be contented with it. *Bedmar* aver'd againſt *Carleton* that the King of Great *Brittain* was not of that mind, and had declar'd ſo much to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at *London*. The Venetians were very ſenſible that the Treaty gave his Catholick Majeſty all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably demand. But

at

at the ſame time they had no mind to irritat the Spaniards more, who already wiſh'd 'em a great deal of harm: and therefore in their anſwers to the Marqueſs of *Bedmar* were as cautious as poſble. *We are very much troubled*, ſaid they, *that the Duke of* Savoy's *carriage ſhould drive his Catholick Majeſty to ſuch extremities. But we hope God will inſpire him with milder ſentiments; and that his Majeſty will ſacrifice a part of his reſentment, and reſt contented with the Juſtification that the Duke of* Savoy *will always be ready to give.* Theſe fair Compliments offended the Spaniards; for they eaſily perceiv'd that the Venetians would not give 'em leave to be reveng'd of the Duke of *Savoy* to their fancy, nor to humble him as much as they pleaſed. 1614.

To reflect a little upon theſe Particulars. What was the matter, that this buſineſs of *Savoy* and *Mantua* made ſuch a buſtle in *Europe* for two whole Years? It had almoſt ſet all *Italy*, and perhaps all *Europe* by the Ears: And moſt of the powers of *Europe* were concern'd in it? Why, the ground of all the diſpute is only a ſmall Sum of Mony, and at moſt ſome old Caſtles that the Duke of *Savoy* claim'd a right to, in oppoſition to the houſe of *Mantua.*

'This was the doughty occaſion, upon which *Emmanuel* raiſed Troops, Oppreſed his Subjects, and render'd *Monferrat* deſolate, it being the ſeat of the War. The Cardinal Duke of *Mantua* is repreſented to us as a Prince of no Head, and manag'd by ſelfiſh Miniſters. Yet, he was maſter of ſo much Addreſs as to get *Spain* on his ſide, tho it was againſt him at firſt. 'Tis no matter whether 'twas brought about by a Politick fetch, or by a turn of good-luck. So it was, that his particular quarrel was reſented by his Catholick Majeſty. But what ground had *Philip*, or rather his Miniſters, to reject the Treaty of *Aſt*, and think they did rightfully, in kindling a War, and ruining *Piemont*? Why, a triffle, an inſignificant point of honor. What! Do Chriſtian Princes think they have a Diſpenſation for not obſerving the firſt rules of humanity,

and

1614. and the moſt expreſt commands of *Jeſus Chriſt*? How unhappy is the condition of Men, if they muſt tamely ſuffer, thoſe who are ſet at their head for inſuring their happineſs and ſafety, to lay Provinces deſolate, ruin their Subjects and Neighbours, and ſacrifice the lives of an infinity of People, as a gratification to their Vanity and Capricious humors.

The King of Spain *is diſſatisfied with the Governour of* Milan.

All the Spaniſh Miniſters in *Italy* made a heavy ſtir, in order to oblige the Governour of *Milan* to invade *Piemont*. They flatter'd themſelves, that that effort would make the Duke of *Savoy* more ſubmiſſive and tractable. *Inoioſa* being egg'd on by the continual reproaches of the Spaniards on all hands, makes ready for ſome motion. But he did it ſo ſlowly that Prince *Thomas* the Son of *Charles Emmanuel* had time to prevent the Spaniards, by invading the Milaneſe, taking the City of *Candia*, puting all to Fire and Sword, and returning with a conſiderable Booty. The Mediators complain of this interpriſe. But the Duke of *Savoy* diſallowed his Son's actions: for an excuſe 'twas given out that the Prince knew nothing of what was Negotiated. The Spaniards afterwards made their repriſals by taking ſome ſmall places in *Piemont*. Soon after *Charles Emmanuel* intercepts a Letter from the King of *Spain* to the Governour of *Milan*; by which he underſtood that ſome body had given the King an unfavourable character of *Inoioſa*. His Majeſty ſeem'd to be diſſatified with his conduct; and order'd him to take up Winter quarters for his Army in *Piemont*, and not to conſent to any agreement with the Duke of *Savoy*, unleſs he firſt ſubmitted to all that his Majeſty enjoyn'd him before theſe Commotions. *Charles Emmanuel* did not fail to Publiſh the Letter: By ſo doing he propoſed a double Advantage to himſelf, in mortifying the Pride of *Inoioſa*, whom that letter cenſur'd, and ſhewing to the Princes that interpoſed for a Peace. that *Philip* pretended to as abſolute a command over the Princes of *Italy*, as over the Grandees of *Spain*.

At

1614. Lewis XIII *of Age.*

At the time when *Rambouillet* commenc'd his Negotiation in *Italy*, *Lewis* XIII. enter'd into the 14th Year of his Age, and by conſequence was then *of Age*, purſuant to the Edict of *C. V.* given at *Vincennes* in the Year 1374, and recorded the next Year in the Parliament of *Paris* with great ſolemnity. One may wonder that the wiſteſt of the Kings of *France* ſhould have thought a Prince of ſo few Years capable to Govern by himſelf. Hiſtorians ſay, that *Charles* was of opinion, that the Minority of Kings ought to continue as ſhort a while as poſſible, for fear the Regents ſhould gain power enough to Dethron their Pupil, or at leaſt to ſnatch away a great part of their Eſtate and Authority. Upon thar occaſion the honeſt King was more concern'd for his Family than for any thing elſe. His health was not very good, and 'twas very probable his two Sons would be left under Age. Of his three Brethren, two of 'em wanted neither for Courage nor Ambition. Now under thoſe circumſtances, to ſecure the Crown to his Children, 'twas a material Point, for the King to leſſen the time of their Minority : By that means the Uncles had leſs time to form interpriſes, ſince the young King had right to an early entrance into the Government without them ; any of the Princes that were moſt ſuſpected, might be remov'd from buſineſs by others better affected, under the plauſible pretence of the King's being of Age. The moſt remarkable Circumſtance attending this new Law, was, that he on whoſe behalf the Father made it, ſtood in need of a Governor and Regent all the days of his Life. He was a Fool and Infirm. And that aukward accident occaſion'd in *France* all the great Evils that *Charles* deſign'd to prevent.

Recherches de Paſquier.

Mezerai la vie de Char. V.

This ſame Edict proves that 'twas an old Cuſtom in the Council of *France* to prefix ſorry Prefaces to the moſt Solemn Laws. *Charles* V. therein tells you ; that the Sons of *France* have ſuch excellent Governors and Maſters to form their Spirits, that they become capable to conduct themſelves, and manage the Adminiſtration of Affairs, much ſooner than other Children. In the two laſt Reigns there were two Minorities. What ! Do Regents take ſuch care to give ſuch Extraordinary Education to their Sons ? Was *France* ſo ill provided of Gentlemen of Merit, thae *Souvre* and *Villeroy* were the moſt capable to inſtruct a young King ? *Charles* V. aledged yet another reaſon ; but it is no better than the former. *God*, ſaid he, *who gives the Sovereign power to Kings, is not wanting in enriching them betimes with the neceſſary qualities for making a good uſe of it* ? What ! Does God work Miracles then, to make young Princes more Sagacious and

1614. and more wiſe than other Children? They are ſeduc'd betimes by Flattery, and tranſported by their Paſſions, which ſcarce meet with any reſiſtance; ſo that Commonly they begin later than other Children to give ear to reaſon: And often times by the Juſt Judgment of God, upon a people whom he has a mind to puniſh, a King is all his Life a ſtranger to the firſt principles of reaſon and good ſenſe.

According to the Edict of *Charles* V. the King was not to be Conſecrated and Crown'd till after his Minority. But that formality was overlook'd, on the behalf of the Son of him who made the Law. *Charles* VI. was Minor when his Father died, and his Uncles diſputed for the Regency. *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* claim'd a right to it, as being eldeſt Brother to the late King. The Dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy* and the D. of *Bourbon* Uncle by the Mother ſide, alleg'd a title to the Adminiſtration of affairs, as well as the Uncles on the Fathers ſide. Some Lords were choſen on both ſides to be Arbitrators of the difference. Their ſentence was; that *Charles* VI. ſhould be Conſecrated and Crown'd, notwithſtanding his Father's Law; that affairs ſhould be expedited, in his own Name and under his own Seal; that the Dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon* ſhould take care of the Education of the King and of *Lewis* of *Orleance* his Brother; that the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould have the Name and Honor of the Regent, but ſhould not act jointly with the other three Princes. Ever ſince that time the Cuſtom has prevail'd, of Conſecrating and Crowning Kings during their Minority, and expediteing affairs in their Name and under their Seal.

The King's firſt act after his being of Age.

The firſt Work that *Lewis* did after his being of age, was a Work of Religion and Juſtice. Perhaps Policy and Diſſimulation afforded the inward Motives; In Order to impoſe upon the People, who readily believe what they earneſty wiſh for. His Majeſty called a Council the firſt of *October*; Where a Declaration was expedited and ſeal'd in order to be recorded the next day. *Lewis* at firſt promiſed to apply himſelf to every thing that's *ſuitable to a moſt Chriſtian King, tender of God's Glory, and fond of the peace and tranquility of his Subjects*; *To take care to obſerve the good and ſacred Laws publiſhed by his Predeceſſours*; *and to Enact new one's by the Advice of the next Convention of the States general of the Kingdom.* Then he confirm'd the Edict of *Nantes* in all its Articles, all the Orders and Decrees giv'n, and all Grants either by way of Interpretation or Execution of the ſame Edict; Which, he ſaid, *He would obſerve as Inviolable.* He prohibited his Subjects to enter into Leagues

with

with Forreign Princes, contrary to the good of the State, or to receive ſecret Penſions from them. He confirm'd the Edicts of his Father againſt Duels, and the Laws of his *Predeceſſours* againſt Oaths and Blaſphemies. I ſhould not deny a Declaration apparently ſo pious and equitable the praiſes due to its Merit, had not the Son of him who gave it, Solemnly Declar'd, that neither his Father, nor his Grand-Father ever deſign'd to keep up an Edict, which they promiſed to maintain in all its Articles, as a perpetual and irrevocable Law. How then? Theſe two Kings, who are intitled to the magnificent Sirnames of *Great* and *Juſt*, were in the opinion of their Sons, Men void of Conſcience and Probity. Will ever Poſterity believe ſuch a thing? For my part, I'll always have a better opinion of *Henry* IV. and *Lewis* XIII. I cannot perſuade my ſelf that they were ſo Corrupt, as *Lewis* XIIII repreſents them. 1614.

The King takes his place in the Parliament of Paris.

The next day, being the 2 of *October*, the King with all imaginable Splendour went to take his Place in the Parliament of *Paris*. *Mary de Medicis* made there a ſhort Speech, Declaring ſhe reſigned the Adminiſtration of Affairs into the Hands of the King her Son, his Minority being expired ſome days before. *Lewis* return'd his Mother many thanks, and concluded his Speech, by Declaring that he would have the Queen always to continue to take Care of him and Govern the State. This was the Thing that the good Princeſs had been ſeeking after with a great deal of application. She continued her Authority, without being anſwerable for what was to be done hereafter. Her happineſs had been but too great, had not the Favorite, who began already to Influence the young King, been Baniſh'd the Court; And had not the firſt Miniſter, whom ſhe herſelf preferr'd to the Place of the dead Favourite, been expell'd the Kingdom.

Chancellour *Silleri* and Preſident *Verdun* made Harangues upon the King's being of Age. The Speech of *Servin* Adcat General was more remarkable for his Wiſe and Religious Remonſtrances to the young King. All that was blameworthy in it, was, that ſo grave a Magiſtrate ſhould himſelf have had a ſhare in that Baſe flattery, which had then crept into the Parlement, and has ſince ſetl'd it ſelf among them in a Scandalous manner. *Servin* cry'd up the Adminiſtion of *Mary de Medicis* with ſuperlative Elegies. Among the good Counſels he gave to *Lewis* with a Chriſtian and French Liberty; ought he to have inſerted that of forming his Conduct by the Advice of a Mother, that minded more the

1614. the maintaining of her own Authority and raiſing of her Favorites and Creatures, than diſpoſing her Son to Religion and Virtue, and making the People happy and well ſatisfied under her Admiſtrations. The Ceremony concluded with reading and recording the Declaration that was prepared the day before.

The Education of Lewis XIII

While I employ'd all my care in tracing the Hiſtory of the Minority of *Lewis* XIII. I was often amaz'd, that I met with ſo little relating to the Education of the young King. His Father gave him *Giles Souvre* for his Governour. But it ſeems *Henry* IV. upon this Occaſion, did not ſo much mind the chooſing of a Gentleman endued with Qualities ſuitable to that important Office, as the rewarding the Fidelity of an old Servant. Hiſtory informs us that *Souvre* beſtired himſelf to eſtabliſh his Family, and to procure to the Marqueſs of *Courtenvaux* his Son a conſiderable Place at Court. But I meet with nothing that he did towards the Royal Education of *Lewis*. The Family of *Souvre*, which this Man raiſed, did not ſtand long after his Death. An Heireſs carried off the Eſtate into the Family of a Miniſter of State, who's Father, from an obſcure Birth, raiſed himſelf to the firſt Dignity of the Robe.

Vauquelin des Ivetaux was the King's firſt Preceptour. A Perſon of Quality, who's Memoirs are extant, ſays that *Vauquelin* was a Man of worth, and very capable to Inſtruct a Prince : But the Deſcription we have from another Authour of his extravagant Amours, of his Life and Death, which were altogether *Epicurian*, is a certain proof that *Henry* IV. was no good Judge of Men of Merit. Cardinal *Perron* ply'd hard to get the Place of Preceptour to his Brother. He offered to take upon himſelf the care and direction of the *Dauphin*'s Studies; but *Hen.* IV. of his own head choſe *Vauquelin*. He did not keep the Imployment long. The envy and jealouſy of ſome People occaſion'd his removal about a Year after the death of *Hen.* IV. *Nicolas le Fevre* ſucceeded him ; a Man diſtinguiſh'd by his learning and Piety. The King had put him to the Prince of *Conde*, who by way of recompence, procur'd to him the place, that *Vauquelin* fill'd with applauſe enough. About a Year after *le Fevre* died, and *Fleurence Vivaat*, an able Mathematician, according to report, roſe, from being Subpreceptour to be the head Preceptour. A young Man that goes thro ſo many different hands, commonly is not very much accompliſh'd.

Lewis

Lewis XIII. Knew very litle Lattin: Hawking and Hunting were more agreeable to him than Study. He was very expert in raiſing Fouls to flye, and became one of the beſt Huntſmen in the Kingdom. His Majeſty, ſays a certain Hiſtorian, ſpoke to his Dogs according to Art. Was it not more proper to have form'd him for Speaking well to Men? It is likewiſe obſerv'd that he was not an ill Gunner, and that he was well enough verſed in Fortifications. Theſe Qualities may be of ſome uſe to a Noble Man's younger Brother, that has his Fortune to make; But they are not at all ſuitable to a King, bating that of the knowledg of Fortification. He may divert himſelf with Hunting and the Flying of Birds: But the bulk of his time ought to be employ'd in ſome thing elſe, than making himſelf exper in Faulcounry and Hunting. I cannot find Fault with *Lewis*'s applying himſelf to the knowledg of Artillery. This is neceſſary to a King who ought to make himſelf capable to Command Armies, when the *P*ublick good requires it. But is not it ridiculous, that a young *P*rince ſhould charge his Memory with the Names and uſes of the moſt inſignificant Things in the Ordinance? He ſhould have been accuſtom'd to fill his Head with Things of uſe and importance for Governing well. He knew the names of all his *P*acks of Dogs. To learn to know Men, to diſtinguiſh and ſingle out thoſe who are moſt capable to fill the firſt Dignities of State, to Reward thoſe who do good Service to the *P*ublick, that, I ſay, is a Study more worthy of a Soveraign. *Lewis* XIII. had always good Inclinations, and was well enough ſeaſon'd with the principles of Virtue and Juſtice. His Courtiers durſt not talk Smutily nor Swear in his preſence. He fear'd God, he lov'd Juſtice, and had a mind to do good to his *P*eople. Had *Souvre* and others about him taken care to form and cultivate the Judgment and Integrity that God gave him; they had done a conſiderable piece of Service to their *P*rince and their Country. *Lewis* had not been reduc'd to the wretched neceſſity of leaving all Buſineſs to a Favourite or a Miniſter, who minded nothing but eſtabliſhing their Intereſt and Fortune, by raiſing to day a Civil, and to morrow a Forreign War. 1614.

F I N I S.